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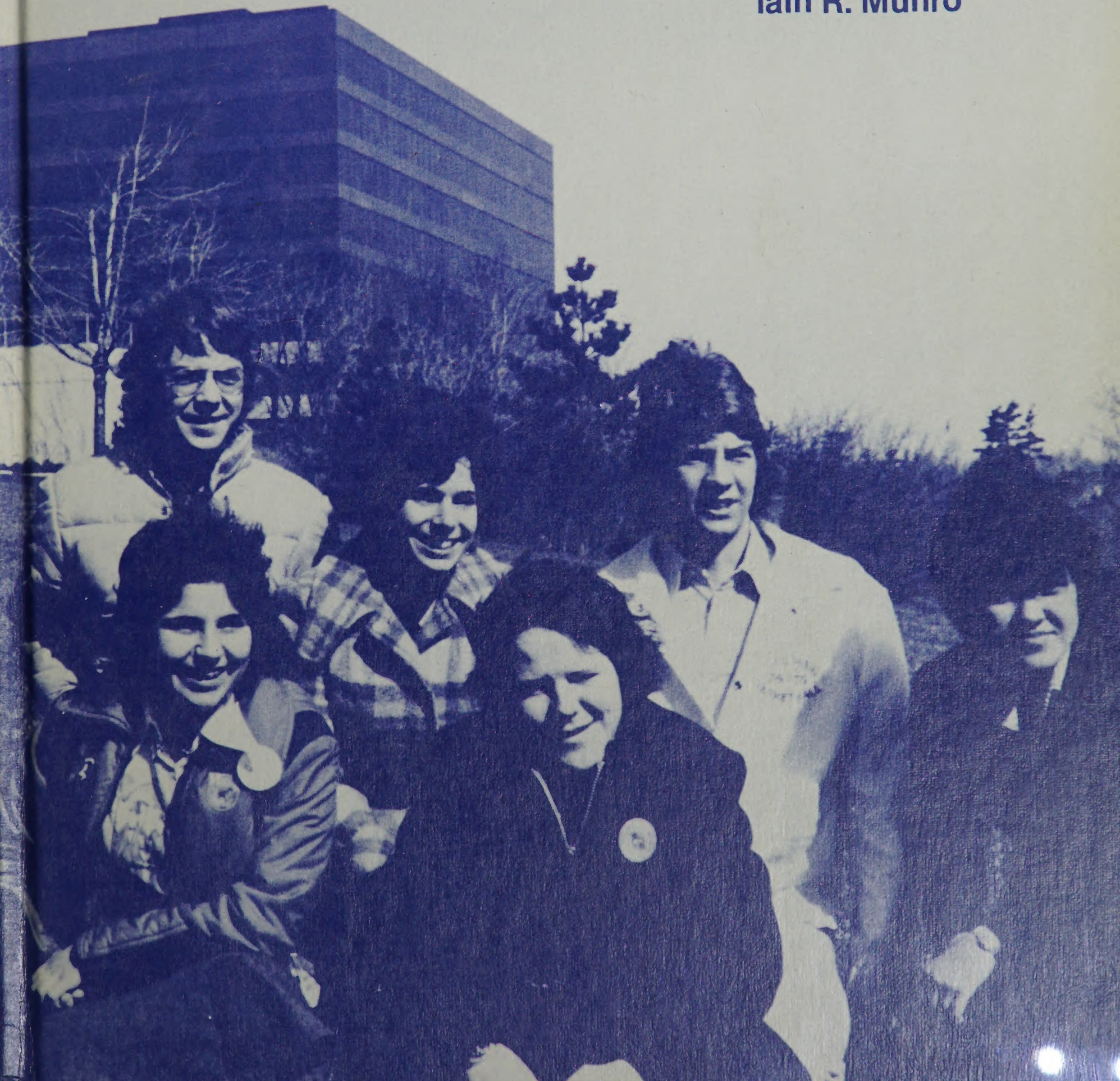


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Canadian Studies

Culture and Country

Howard A. Doughty
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Dedication

In memory of Harold A. Doughty.

Wife, Norma and sons, Mark and Paul; parents, Raymond and Margaret Skidmore; grandmothers, May Skidmore and Pearl Service; sister, Susan; and brothers, Randy and Roddy.

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Preface

This textbook has been designed and written to complement the first volume, *Canadian Studies: Self and Society*, and a deliberate effort has been made to expand many of the themes, concepts and materials developed in the first text. It has, therefore, been written from the same perspective and with the conviction that there is a great need for Canadian Studies material.

A number of people have greatly influenced the writing and development of this book. One of these was Gordon Foulis of Wiley Publishers, who provided considerable support and encouragement throughout. Two other people at Wiley Publishers who provided similar support and encouragement were Veronica Uren and Mary Macchiusi. In addition, the thoughtful editing of Heather Sherratt helped greatly in the completion of our manuscript.

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In addition we would particularly like to express our appreciation to a number of people who granted us permission to reproduce previously printed material: Ralph V. Barrett, Robert J. Drummond, Scott O. Shields, and M. Elena Smith. Appreciation is also expressed to James E. Page for his many and varied contributions. Picture credits are noted at the end of the book. However, particular appreciation should be given to Irma Coucill and to James Brewster for their excellent art work.

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D.R. Skidmore
April, 1976

Introduction

In this book we attempt to answer the question, “What is the Canadian identity?” To do this, we explore the traditions of Canadians from many different backgrounds who now share a common country. To speak of a single Canadian identity or to define a typical Canadian is impossible. Canadians have brought their heritages from many lands. If there is a definition of Canada, it must lie in the diversity of our environment and our people — our country and our culture.

There are five main objectives in this book. The first is to understand the many-faceted cultural heritage of the people and how their traditions, customs and institutions contribute to life in Canada. Secondly, the book will provide students with an introduction to some of the concepts central to a study of people. This will help them carry out investigations into the nature of Canada and acquire confidence in suggesting alternative solutions to problems. Thirdly, for this reason, the book provides a wide selection of resource materials. Our fourth objective is to encourage discussions about the kind of country Canada should become. Finally, and equally important, this book should be fun.

In the first chapter we discuss the nature of culture and raise several key questions about Canada. We begin

a thorough analysis of our multicultural heritage in the second chapter with a discussion of the native people, whose willingness to share their skills with the Europeans enabled them to survive. It is a sad irony that Canada's native people today do not share equally in Canadian life. The two European nations that most influenced later developments in this country were Britain and France. These two nations are the subject of Chapters 3 and 4. The British still remain the largest group in Canada. Their language and political institutions have had a great impact on our history. The survival of French culture in North America has justifiably been termed a miracle. Recent economic, social and political changes in French Canada are raising some important questions about the future of Canada itself. Chapter 5, the largest in the book, is devoted to a study of the heritage and contribution to Canada of some of the other major cultural groups. The experiences that all groups share as they integrate into Canadian society are a major focus of this chapter. The book concludes with an attempt to clarify some of the most important questions raised in preceding chapters and to discuss their implications for the future.

This is not a traditional textbook; neither is it a collection of source materials for discussion. It is highly structured and each chapter contains a historical section as well as an organized selection of resource materials related to specific themes. A historical as well as a sociological approach provides an interdisciplinary investigation of Canada and Canadians. We have also included some of the latest statistical data and a wide variety of case studies, diagrams, charts and photographs. The book can be used alone to analyze and discuss Canada's multicultural heritage, but ideally it should lead into deeper inquiries. The Teacher's Manual that accompanies both this text and its companion volume, *Canadian Studies: Self and Society*, suggests many additional in- and out-of-classroom activities and ideas.

We hope you will find both enjoyment and reward in your study of the issues raised here and realize how important they are to the future of our country.

Chapter One: Why Are We Different?



How do Canadians differ?

What makes someone prejudiced?

How has Canada become a “mosaic” of cultures?

What kind of Canada do we want?



Human conflict seems always to be with us. One of the marks of a good society is whether it can resolve its conflicts effectively and humanely. Conflict may occur because of the many differences in our individual backgrounds, religious affiliations, regional interests, political beliefs, social status and our standard of living. In any society, some of these differences are healthy and some are not. If differences that arise from injustices and inequality are not checked, they will often result in human suffering, violence and oppression. On the other hand, cultural variety and freely expressed differences of opinion are the marks of a dynamic society. A multicultural Canada can provide us with a wonderful opportunity. Rather than asking why other people can't be just like ourselves, we should enjoy the differences and the individuality of each Canadian.

Unfortunately, there are still many Canadians who do not seem to appreciate the human diversity of their country. They choose to wrap their views of others in a cloak of prejudice and isolation. Such people often believe they are better than others simply because they belong to a certain ethnic group. Their world tends to be closed to outside influences. They are seldom stimulated by different cultures and are generally unwilling to have their viewpoints challenged by others.

The way we treat other groups has serious implications for our democratic institutions. Is the majority the only group with rights in a democracy? Is the most popular film or book or consumer product really the best? In a democracy, the majority has power, but how far can this power be used to interfere with the rights of minorities? These are questions we must answer as we discuss the nature of Canadian society.

Nothing better illustrates our past attitudes to cultural differences than an examination of the history of our immigration policy. This, together with our personal attitudes to new groups, gives us an important insight into who we are as a people and as a nation. Before we can even begin to discuss Canada's role in helping to shape the destiny of a multicultural, interdependent world, it is essential that we first understand and appreciate the differences within our own national community.

Every community must have some form of social conflict. Harmony is praised in principle and by the clergy but faction is what people really enjoy.

John Kenneth Galbraith

People Prefer to Live in Communities

Do you ever need or want to be by yourself? Even though we may not want to be hermits most of us do enjoy moments to ourselves once in a while. It is healthy and normal to want a certain amount of solitude and to enjoy the benefits and new approach that it can often give us.

However, one does not have to be a historian, psychologist or sociologist to realize that man has shown a preference for living in some form of community. The advantages of community living have been obvious to our ancestors from the beginnings of recorded history.

The Inevitability of Conflict

No matter how strong the drive to seek safety in company or association with others, and despite centuries of practice, men have never found how to live together without conflict. By conflict we mean that individuals or groups have different or even opposite goals. If we examine history carefully, we can see that when people live together there is always some sort of conflict at some time. And the greater the variety of groups and interests in the society, the greater the possibility of conflict.

How does this apply to Canada? Are we a country in conflict? Are the goals of the various regions in Canada the same? Do you think that the nearly one-third of Canadians who are living at or below the poverty line are satisfied with their position in our society? How many strikes can you remember within the last year? In what ways has the women's movement changed the direction of our society? Are the Indian communities in Canada satis-

fied with the treatment they receive from our provincial and federal governments? Is it likely that Quebec will separate? These questions illustrate some of the areas where conflicts might arise in Canadian society.

Pluralism and the Canadian Identity

In this book we will be trying to focus on one aspect of Canadian society: our multicultural heritage. Take a look around your classroom. How many nationalities are represented — four, five, six, possibly more? Should each of these different nationalities be encouraged to remain separate and different or should they be encouraged or even forced by legislation, education and propaganda to become part of a single Canadian culture? This is a question that is often asked.

What is Canadian Culture Anyway?

Many people suggest that we will never have any Canadian identity unless all the various cultural groups are welded into one. Others argue that it is this mosaic of various cultures and regions that already gives Canada its present identity. In this and the following chapters we are going to present some of the history and background of the various cultural and ethnic groups now in Canada. After reading about some of the problems these groups have faced and, in some cases, still face today, perhaps you will be better able to decide what sort of society you would like to see in Canada.

What is Ethnicity?

Before going any further, we should explain what is meant by the word "ethnicity." Ethnicity refers to the characteristics shared by a group of people who have lived together as a single cultural group for many generations and who have an identifiable combination of beliefs, language, religion, territory of national origin, customs and history in common. An ethnic group may not have all the above traits but it is easy enough to identify groups that have only one or two missing.

Ethnicity, Nationality and Race

Ethnicity is often used as a synonym for nationality. Although the two words can be used interchangeably, they are not really synonymous. But this use is common enough to be generally acceptable. What is more important, however, is that ethnicity is sometimes confused with the concept of race. The notion of race is one that we will exclude from our discussion as much as possible. It cannot be ignored completely as many people take it seriously and base judgements about others on it. However, as we will discuss later, the idea of race is so confused it is virtually meaningless and has no place in our efforts to explain Canadian society.

Ethnicity, then, is a cultural concept and refers to people born and raised in a specific social setting. Ethnicity is, therefore, an *ascribed* characteristic; that is, it is a characteristic that people can do little or nothing about. We can, under normal circumstances, do little to

Each group must contribute to the development of a truly Canadian culture according to its peculiar characteristics.
Elio Costa and Odoardo Di Santo

change the objective facts of our birth. We cannot alter our personal histories, our place of birth, our sex, the religious persuasion of our parents or our ethnic background. If we want, we can try very hard to deny our past and we can occasionally succeed in persuading others that we are not what we appear to be. However, for most of us, our past is forever part of us. The characteristics that people "ascribe" to us because of our origins are not our doing, but we may find ourselves being judged by the stereotypes that have developed about people who share our origins.

The Things We Can Control

There are, of course, many things about our lives that we can control to some extent. We have something to say about our career choice, our political beliefs and our level of education. These are all things we can work to achieve. To some extent, we are judged by what we do rather than by who we are. However, in our society, ethnicity is still one of the things we are judged by.

In earlier years, people were often denied jobs or housing because of their ethnicity. There were even times when signs were displayed saying, "No Irish Need Apply." Today, although there is still discrimination, it is officially frowned upon and people often have legal rights to protect them from such obvious discrimination. There are, however, more subtle forms of discrimination largely based on bias and bigotry.



Approaches to the Study of Ethnic Relations

Students of race and ethnic relations have, for many years, tried to generate better understanding among people of different ethnic backgrounds. Many of these people first studied ethnic relations because of some personal experience with prejudice and bigotry. They may have seen instances in which people in a minority group were teased or even physically attacked because they were different from the majority group. Possibly they may have even suffered such experiences themselves.

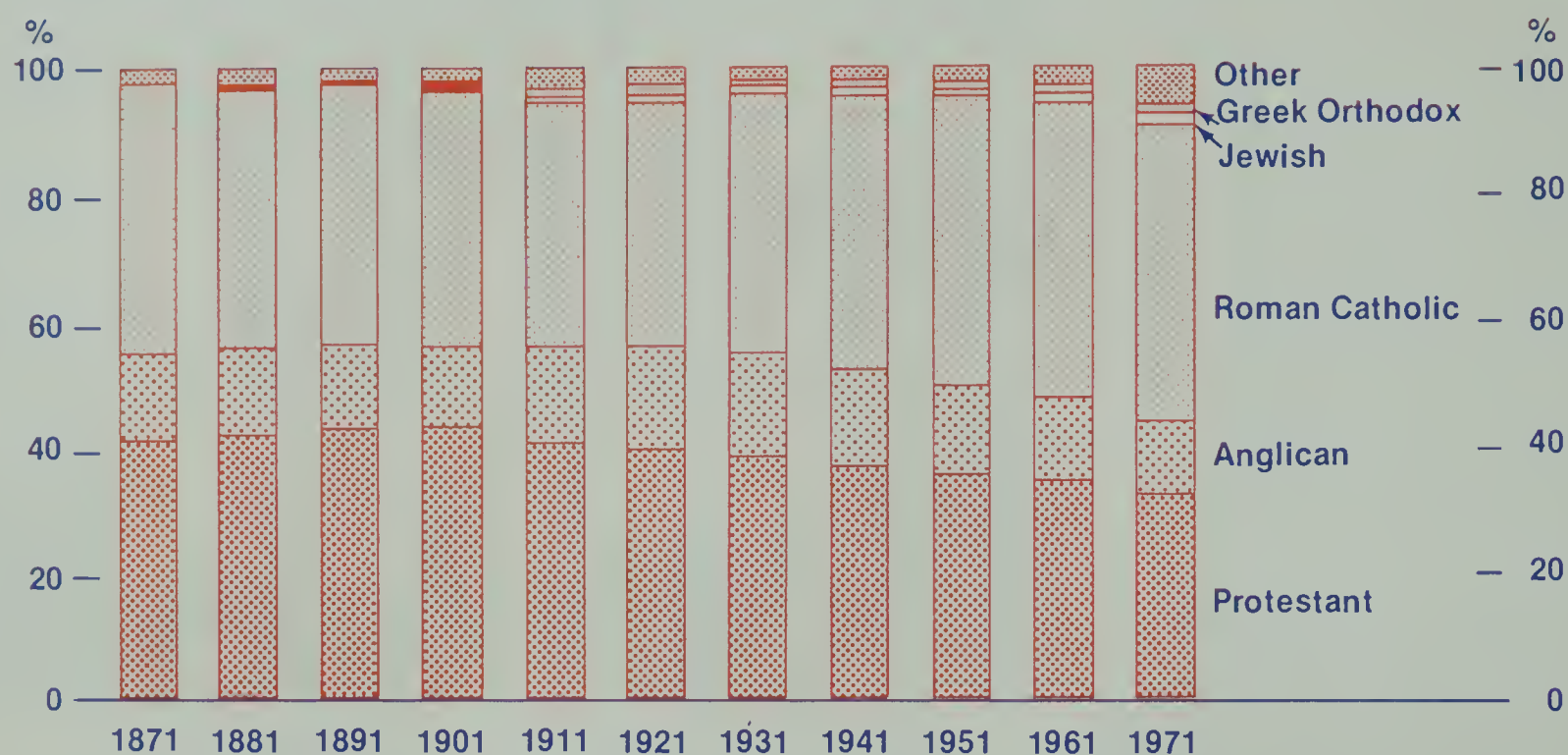
Whatever motivates people to study ethnic relations, there are approaches common to many sociologists, psychologists, historians and political economists concerned with the subject. Here, we will examine some of the basic approaches and assumptions.

Prejudice as Miseducation

Most students of ethnic relations assume that prejudice, bigotry and discrimination are the result of miseducation. People's hatred of various minority groups often seems irrational. Many sociologists have, therefore, thought that exposing the silliness of the beliefs would eradicate the prejudices. If only people could be shown that their attitudes had no foundation in fact, their blind prejudices would disappear. For many years sociologists and psychologists have studied English-Canadian attitudes towards French Canadians, French-Canadian attitudes towards English Canadians, the attitudes of English and French Canadians towards new Canadians and the attitudes of new Canadians towards established Canadians. Recently, people have even been studying the attitudes of native people towards white society and the response of white society to the Inuit and Indian people.

My teachers said that for a Catholic, I
was pretty much of a Protestant.
Pierre Trudeau

Population by Religion, 1871-1971



Source: Statistics Canada, *Perspective Canada: A Compendium of Social Statistics* (Ottawa: 1974), Chart 13.26, p.382.

The problem is that in spite of the thousands of dollars and the sincerity and energy that have gone into these studies, we still have trouble getting along together.

Ethnicity as a Factor of Social Conflict

To a large extent society consists of a variety of groups in conflict. Often, these groups compete for social, economic and political power. Ethnic groups become important in this competition if they are identified with a particular interest or if they feel they must fight to keep their identity as a group in society.

For example, a Ukrainian or German may feel that it is more important to fight for a place in

society than to try and keep his ethnicity. Such a person may become a member of a trade union, a particular church or a political party to gain advantages in society. As long as he remains just a member of the trade union, church or political party everything is all right. Ethnic relations only become important if he decides that being a Ukrainian or a German is important to his place in society. When an ethnic group is generally recognized as being important and distinctive, ethnicity once again becomes a topic of interest.

Some Key Questions

1. What are some of the potential ethnic conflicts in Canadian society?
2. Would a better knowledge and understanding of the various ethnic groups help?
3. What are some of the present views of the various ethnic groups in Canada?
4. What alternatives to ethnic conflict do we have?

Canada has no culture of its own. Only by assuring the perpetuation of our own traditions, can we make our contribution to the Canadian mosaic.

Anonymous

What Is Culture?

As we have seen, ethnic differences are based on cultural differences. To understand this better, we will now see how cultures develop and what makes them different.

At the beginning of this chapter, we said that human beings tend to live in communities. Man is not the only animal that lives in groups. Wolves live and hunt in packs, bees work together in colonies and many fish are found in shoals or schools. In all these cases, individual members of the group work with and influence the behaviour of others. However, it is at this point that the similarity ends. When humans live together in a community for any length of time they usually develop what we call a culture.

Culture can be defined as "the way of life of a social group; the group's total man-made environment, including all material and non-material products of group life that are transmitted from one generation to the next. This includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."

It is precisely this culture that gives any group or nation its unique identity. We can identify British, Mexican, German, Ukrainian, Russian, French, and American cultures. If we are to discuss Canadian society we must first of all clearly understand how cultures originate, grow and even disappear. To do this we must use some of the concepts and language of one of the newest branches of science, sociology.

Culture is Learned

First of all, culture is both shared and learned behaviour. Eating with a knife and fork is a shared form of behaviour in our society. Similarly, using a lawn mower to cut the grass is a common activity and is also a form of shared behaviour. But not all types of shared behaviour are necessarily cultural. Some of the things we do are almost instinctive and automatic. Everyone jumps at a sudden noise or flinches if they are hit. Although these are shared forms of behaviour, we could not call them cultural traits. Some forms of shared behaviour are instinctive and some are learned. If we begin to consider the various types of shared and learned behaviour we can see how much our culture shapes our lives. The language we speak, the way we prepare our food, the literature we read, the art we appreciate, the sports we enjoy, and the cars we drive are a few examples of the culture we share and are influenced by.

The Components of Culture

If we are going to try to analyze our culture it would be useful to break it down into various components. The simplest component of culture is called a *culture trait*. A culture trait may be either material or non-material. A pen, musical instrument, basketball or lathe are all examples of material culture traits. However, the ability to play or work with these objects is a non-material culture trait.

When a number of these culture traits are combined they form what is called a *culture complex*. A hockey game, art exhibition, school orchestra or play are all examples of culture complexes. When culture complexes are combined the result is a *culture*

pattern. For example, by combining the different types of music in a society we can get an idea of that society's musical culture pattern. All such patterns, music, art, recreation, government and eating to name but a few, fit together to form the total fabric of society, which we call culture.

Sub-cultures

Within every broad culture there are different sub-cultures. For example, there are sub-cultural differences between Western Canada and the Atlantic region. Speech, foods, dress and recreation are a few examples of these differences. Similarly there are identifiable rural and urban sub-cultures. Although not very flattering, the terms "city slicker" and "country hick" show what the two sub-cultures think of each other.

But sub-cultures are not only defined by geographical differences. Although the feminists are trying to eliminate or at least break down some of the differences between the sexes and unisex dress also helps, there is still a distinct male sub-culture and a female sub-culture. From the time we are born, we are trained to follow the behavioural patterns considered acceptable and even desirable for men or women.

Another form of sub-culture in our society is based on various ethnic differences. One has only to attend a wedding, funeral or festive holiday of various ethnic groups to realize how strong some ethnic sub-cultural traits are in Canadian society.



Cultural Growth

One important aspect of culture is cultural growth. A culture never stops developing and changing. Historians and anthropologists generally agree that there have been some major stages in cultural development: the Paleolithic period, the Neolithic period, the Copper, Bronze and Iron Ages, the Machine Age and what some refer to as the Technological Age. As each generation develops and passes on the existing knowledge, the society's total store of knowledge grows. Sociologists refer to this store of knowledge as the society's *culture base*. Each culture has its own culture base but the culture base of each society is never exactly the same as that of another society.

Primary and Secondary Inventions

The growth of culture begins with invention. The discovery of a new article or a new way of doing something may be the result of a conscious effort or a sheer accident. Nonetheless, each invention encourages further cultural growth. Inventions can be divided into two main types: primary or secondary. Primary inventions enable man to make major advances. The discovery of fire, the wheel and the splitting of the atom are primary. Secondary inventions, on the other hand, tend to be either improvements on existing inventions or developments from a primary invention. For example, automobiles developed from the invention of the internal combustion engine and light switches from the discovery of electricity.

Major discoveries are usually the result of a series of events and other discoveries. For example, the Cana-

dians, Doctors Banting and Best, are world famous for their discovery of insulin. Although they made the all-important final step, it was only possible because of the medical data and knowledge accumulated by previous generations.

We Borrow from Other Cultures

A second major means of cultural growth is through cultural borrowing. Consider the following questions: What are your five favourite types of food? Where did Soul music originate? What is our national sport? Where did yoga originate? From what countries did our political principles, organization and procedures come? Clearly many of our cultural patterns are directly borrowed from other cultures. Sociologists refer to this cultural borrowing as *cultural diffusion*. One of the clearest examples of this is the Industrial Revolution which developed in Britain and spread to all parts of the world.

There are basically two forms of cultural diffusion: direct and indirect. Direct diffusion is the result of direct contact such as through immigration, trade, war, travel and missionary work. Indirect diffusion, on the other hand, develops without personal contact. Television, radio, books, newspapers, films and records are examples of indirect diffusion. In the modern world with its quick and easy means of communication, indirect diffusion is becoming increasingly important.

Teachers, unfortunately, being themselves the product of a system that preaches conformity as its guiding principle, encourage the quickest possible adoption on the part of young children of "Canadian" customs and ideas.

Elio Costa and Odoaro di Santo

What Do We Learn from Our Elders?

The third means of cultural growth is through one generation directly teaching the next all the knowledge it has accumulated. It would be impossible for a culture to continue, let alone expand, if this did not happen. Imagine what would happen if your grandparents' generation had not passed anything on to your parents. Where would that leave us? We would have no language, no alphabet, no electronic communications, no computers and no political traditions as we presently know them. As absurd as this example is, it does show how important learning from previous generations is to cultural growth.

Cultural Variations

Now that we have some understanding of what culture really is and how it develops we can consider briefly why cultures vary from country to country or society to society.

Social scientists and even philosophers have long sought an explanation for the variations in culture. Initially these explanations tended to be either very simplified or almost mythical. For a long time it was assumed that geographical factors such as climate, topography, soil, vegetation and wildlife were the sole determinants of culture. However, scholars now think that this sort of analysis is too limited. For example, for centuries various tribes of Indians roamed and hunted in what is present-day Quebec. But it was not until the French brought an industrial culture that the iron ore and hydro-electric power resources were developed. Although the geographic factors were the same, it was other factors that determined the natures of the two cultures.

Although at one time man may have been totally dependent on and controlled by his physical environment, modern technology has greatly reduced the effect of environment. To see cultural variation only in straight geographical terms is a mistake. On the other hand, to disregard them completely is equally unrealistic. The geographic influence on cultural development is one factor among many.

Racial Determinism Theory

Another theory that has been popular in the past and is still periodically put forward as an explanation for cultural variation is that of racial determinism. This theory holds that certain groups of people have certain behavioural characteristics because of such racial or biological factors as skin colour, skull shape and size, bone and muscle texture and even texture of hair. As we have seen, environmental and social factors not biological factors determine culture. For example, two Chinese children, one born in China and the other in Canada, would have the same biological makeup. If we compared the two children when they were ten years old, they would still have the same basic biological features, but there the similarities would end. Their language would be different; many of their values would be quite opposite; the sports and games they played would show few similarities; their eating habits would vary; and so the list could go on. Clearly racial characteristics would not have determined their culture.

Cultural variation is in part a reflection of geographic factors but is in no way related to racial determinants. But if we look beyond the simple explanations we can see several other key determinants.

Isolation Tends to Cause Cultural Stagnation

Think back to our analysis of cultural growth. We noted that diffusion or cultural borrowing was a major factor in the development of culture. The more isolated a society, the less opportunity there is for diffusion. Groups of people cut off from other societies because of physical barriers such as mountain ranges often develop cultures completely different from those in neighbouring areas. An often cited example of this is New Guinea. In a relatively small area there are a number of pockets of distinct cultures each with a variety of social customs and values.

By comparison, in a much larger area such as North America there are a number of variations of custom, accents in language, food specialties and so on. However, the limited physical obstructions and advanced technology lead to a fairly uniform culture base. The degree of variation over this large area is small compared to New Guinea. The degree of cultural variation can, to a large extent, be attributed to the degree of isolation and lack of diffusion.

Another explanation for cultural variation is the existing values and customs of a society. For example, a group of people who are primarily interested in a close relationship to God may choose a way of life that they believe will help them achieve their goal. A good example of this is the Hutterite community which rejects many contemporary values and technological changes as they believe these will not help them live close to God. Another group may tend to see life in a more scientific way. They would establish goals and measure achievement in terms of technological advance and

What if Canada were a country in the plural? A country where each ethnic group and every culture could have the autonomy to dream its own dreams
Jacques Godbout

material gain. There are hundreds of other historical and contemporary examples. Because of their emphasis on the afterlife the Ancient Egyptians devoted vast amounts of money and human energy to build the great pyramids. In parts of India even today the whole social order or caste system destroys any sense of social mobility.

In all these examples it is evident that cultural development is directly related to the values and customs of the society. Often, when a society has established a certain way of life it becomes self-perpetuating. In this way, many cultures become entrenched and unreceptive to change.

We can see now that there is no one single explanation for cultural variation. There are many factors that must be examined individually and in combination. It is only by avoiding generalization and oversimplification that we can gain some understanding of the reasons for cultural variation.

Ethnocentrism: Pride in One's Own Culture

It is a natural human tendency to measure or judge another culture by one's own. This, however, makes it difficult to show any degree of objectivity in analyzing aspects of another culture. Far too often this leads to ethnocentrism. Ethnocentrism results when people become overly proud and sensitive about their way of life. This is not to say that pride in one's culture is bad, but to allow it to destroy any appreciation of another culture is clearly not a good thing.



Are People in One Culture All Alike?

After briefly looking at some of the reasons for variations from one culture to another, let us consider some of the variations within any one particular culture.

In any society there are certain forms of behaviour common to nearly all members of that society. The use of a knife and fork, a minimum number of years at school, a form of salutation when you meet someone, the idea that people should work to earn a living and recognition of the law are a few of these forms of behaviour in our society. One has little choice about such matters. They are referred to as *cultural universals*. If someone ignored the cultural universals of his society he would probably be disapproved of and rejected by his peers.

However, if we were totally controlled by our culture we would become a society of automatons. Within every society there are what are called *cultural alternatives* which allow for a certain amount of choice.

How many years you attend school or college beyond the compulsory minimum school-leaving age is a matter of choice; so is our choice of occupation, our selection of clothes, the religion we follow, and so on.

It is these cultural alternatives that give us variation in our society. Clearly life would be very dull without such choices. To want everyone to have identical values and behavioural characteristics would be to condemn us to a rather bland and passive existence to say the least.

The Potential Problems of Ethnocentrism

Up to this point we have examined what culture is, how it grows, why it varies, and the reasons for limited differences within a given culture. We have also noted that it is very easy for people to become ethnocentric about their own culture. We should now consider all these factors in the context of Canada.

Consider what might happen if all the major ethnic groups in Canada took a very narrow ethnocentric



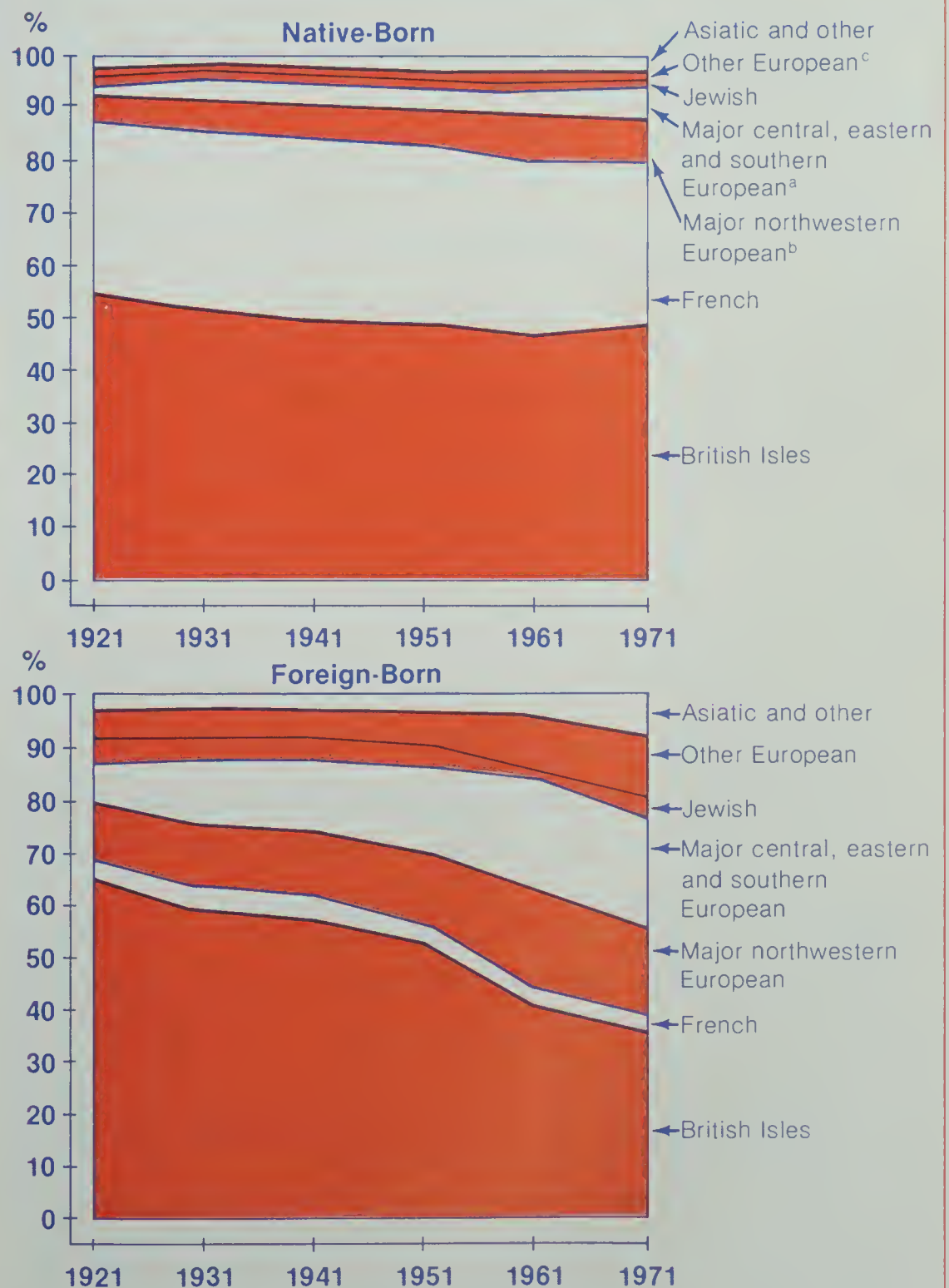
view of Canadian culture. The larger groups would probably try to assimilate or absorb the remaining minority groups. A number of the minority groups might actively try to identify with the majority or passively be absorbed. On the other hand, they might very well actively resist. Whatever happened, it would not be a very good prospect for Canadian society.

The Implications for Canada as a Pluralistic Society

The key question that we are going to look at in this book is, what is to be the nature of the Canadian society? In an era when politicians, academics and ordinary citizens are talking more and more about the Canadian identity, this question is important.

We often tend to reduce and simplify this whole question to the democratic principle of majority rule. By stating that, in a democratic society, the majority should rule, many people attempt to justify their privileges as a member of that majority group. But is the

Composition of Native and Foreign-Born Populations by Major Ethnic Origin Groups, Canada, 1921-1971



^a Hungarian, Italian, Polish, Russian and Ukrainian

^b German, Netherlands and Scandinavian

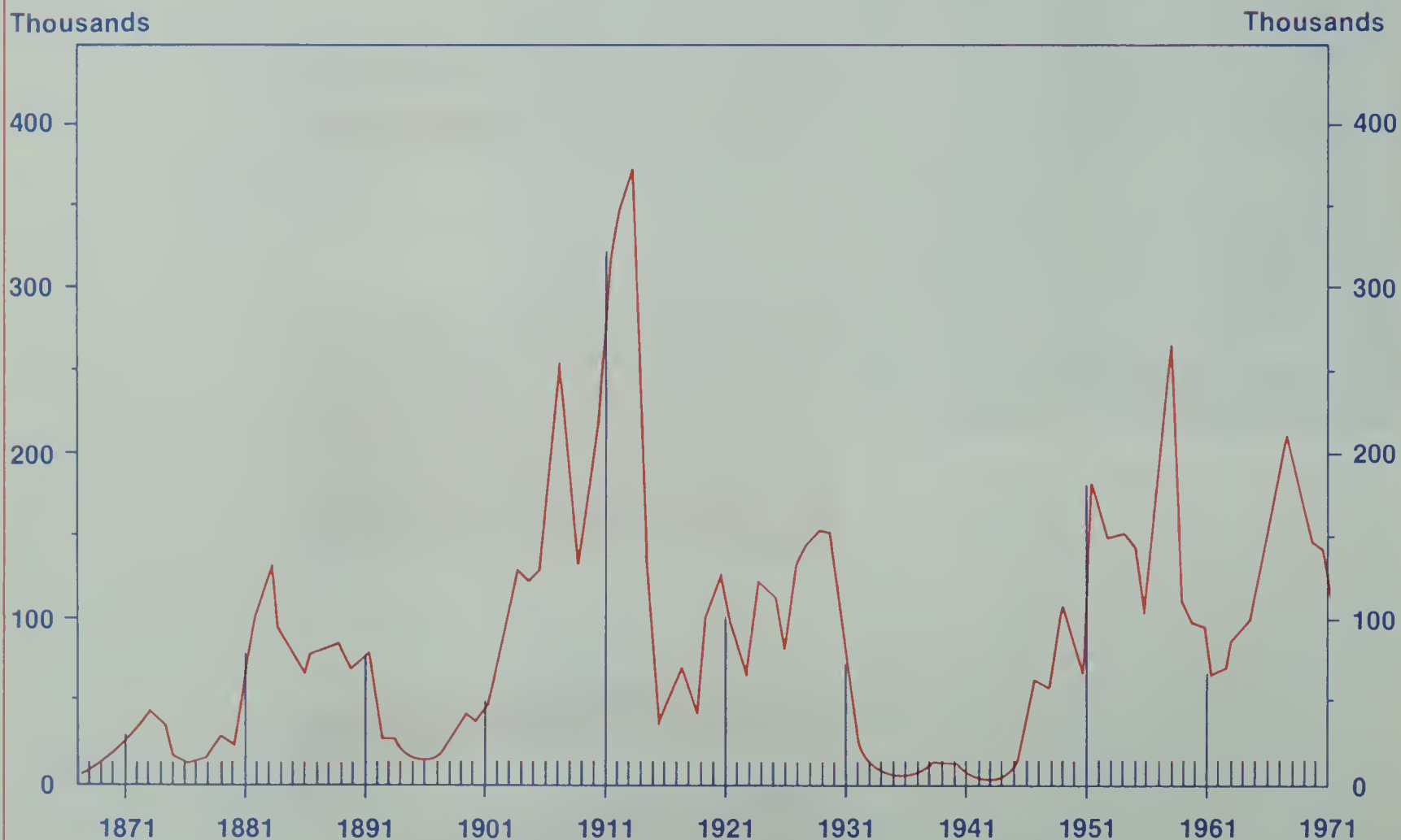
^c Other European origins not included in (a) or (b)

Source: Information Canada, *The Effect of Immigration on Population* (Ottawa: 1974), p.34.

Canada's population of non-British, non-French origin, often termed "New Canadians," has a long history.

*Royal Commission on
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Number of Immigrant Arrivals, Canada, 1867-1971



Source: Canada Censuses, Department of Manpower and Immigration Annual Reports

issue that simple? Is it simply a matter of one majority group requiring all other groups to conform? As we will see, consciously or unconsciously, Canadians have tried to assimilate both new comers and the native peoples in the past. But is the political concept of majority rule meant to be used to reduce or eliminate the rights of the minority? In the same way as the individual

has certain basic rights in society, do not minority groups have similar rights?

None of these questions are easy to answer, but that does not mean that we can afford to ignore them. As Canadians we have a rich cultural heritage that we can all be proud of. But unless we come to grips with many of these issues and questions, the benefits of our

pluralistic society could become forces that might destroy it.

After we have examined the various ethnic groups in Canada we will return to the question, what is to be the nature of Canadian society?

The Degree of Ethnic Variation

Students of the humanities and social sciences can learn a great deal from statistics, diagrams, charts and maps. From the data on the following pages you will be able to gain some insights into the various ethnic groups in Canada, our historical perspective on immigration, the size of these ethnic groups in relation to our total population, and the patterns of life, death and birth of each.

Net Interprovincial Migration, 1966-1971



Source: Department of Manpower and Immigration

Components of Population Change, Canada, 1891-1971
(population in thousands)

Decade	Natural Increase		Immigration		Natural Increase plus Immigration	Decade Increase	Estimated Emigration	
1891-1901	718	(670) ^c	326	(250) ^c	1044	538	506	(380) ^c
1901-11	1120	(1030)	1759	(1550)	2879	1836	1043	(740)
1911-21	1230 ^a	(1270)	1612	(1400)	2842	1581	1261	(1090)
1921-31	1360		1203		2563	1589	974	
1931-41	1222		150		1372	1130	242	
1941-51	1972		548		2520	2141 ^b	379	
1951-61	3148		1543		4691	4229	462	
1961-71	2606 ^d		1429		4035	3330	705	

^a Includes war deaths.
^b Excludes Newfoundland.
^c Corrected estimates, by Z. Sametz published in P. Camu, E.P. Weeks, and Z. Sametz, *Economic Geography of Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1964), Table 3.
^d Dominion Bureau of Statistics, and Statistics Canada, *Vital Statistics*, 1961 to 1971 annual reports, Ottawa.
 Source: Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1971 *Immigration Statistics*, (Ottawa: 1972), Table 1.

We are all immigrants to this place,
even if we were born here
Margaret Atwood

Birthplace and Immigration of Population of Selected Cities, 1971

City	Born in Canada	Born Outside Canada	Immigration after 1945
Calgary	320 730	82 595	59 160
Edmonton	404 990	90 920	62 765
Hamilton	365 565	132 945	99 975
Halifax	206 545	16 105	12 120
Kingston	72 105	13 815	10 840
London	229 000	57 270	43 440
Montreal	233 755	405 680	330 335
Peterborough	56 470	7 105	4 490
Ottawa-Hull	527 230	75 325	60 965
Toronto	1 734 810	893 315	741 770
Regina	122 235	18 435	9 335
Thunder Bay	88 505	23 635	14 115
Saint John	101 525	5 175	2 930
St. John's	128 100	3 900	3 300
Saskatoon	108 970	17 600	8 620
Sault Ste. Marie	67 010	14 510	11 060
Sarnia	65 340	13 040	10 105
Sudbury	136 135	19 335	14 500
Vancouver	795 870	286 480	189 830
Victoria	147 480	48 370	24 870
Windsor	203 020	55 635	37 175
Winnipeg	432 835	107 425	64 490

Source: 1971 Census of Canada

The Record of Canadian Immigration Policy

Closely associated with the cultural nature of Canadian society is the whole question of our immigration policy. The future direction of Canadian immigration policy has been one of the most hotly debated issues in recent years. If we are going to examine this whole issue we should first look at the history of Canada's immigration policy.

In 1975 the federal government released a report on Canadian immigration from Confederation to the present. The following sections are largely based on that study, *The Report of the Canadian Immigration and Population Study*, commonly known as the Green Paper.

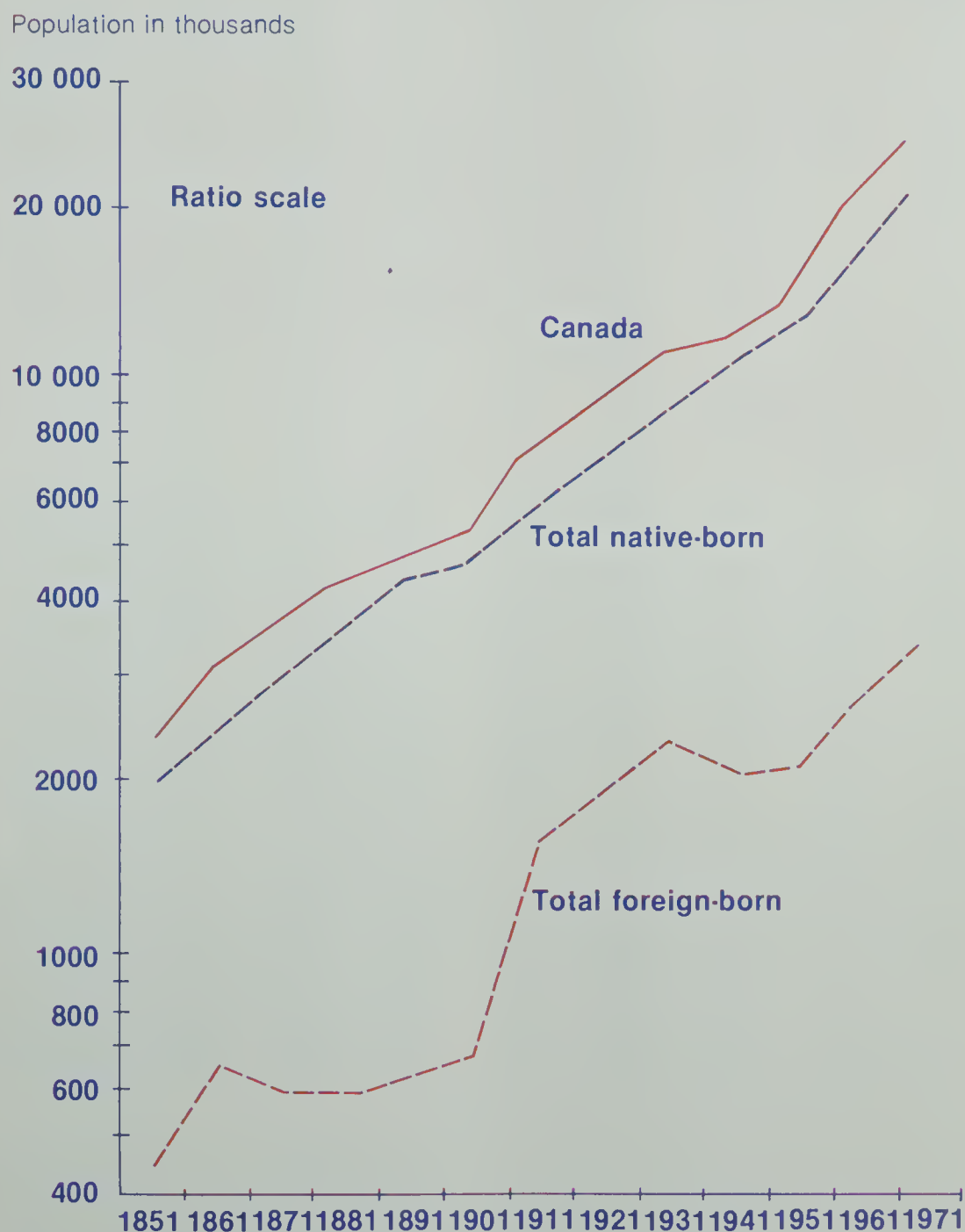
Population, Canada and Provinces, 1871-1971

(Thousands of Persons)

Year	Nfld.	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.	Canada
1871	—	94	388	286	1,192	1,621	25	—	—	36	—	48	3,689
1881	—	109	441	321	1,359	1,927	62	—	—	49	—	56	4,325
1891	—	109	450	321	1,489	2,114	153	—	—	98	—	99	4,833
1901	—	103	460	331	1,649	2,183	255	91	73	179	27	20	5,371
1911	—	94	492	352	2,006	2,527	461	492	374	392	9	7	7,207
1921	—	89	524	388	2,361	2,934	610	758	588	525	4	8	8,788
1931	—	88	513	408	2,875	3,432	700	922	732	694	4	9	10,377
1941	—	95	578	457	3,332	3,788	730	896	796	818	5	12	11,507
1951	361	98	643	516	4,056	4,598	777	832	940	1,165	9	16	14,009
1956	415	99	695	555	4,628	5,405	850	881	1,123	1,398	12	19	16,081
1961	458	105	737	598	5,259	6,236	922	925	1,332	1,629	15	23	18,238
1966	493	109	756	617	5,781	6,961	963	955	1,463	1,874	14	29	20,015
1971	522	112	789	635	6,028	7,703	988	926	1,628	2,185	18	35	21,568

Source: Censuses of Canada

Growth of Native and Foreign-Born Populations, Canada, 1851-1971



Source: Information Canada, *The Effect of Immigration on Population* (Ottawa: 1974), p. 27.

The Free Entry Period (1867-1895)

After Confederation the government followed a laissez-faire policy on immigration. A laissez-faire policy is one in which the law of supply and demand is allowed to work freely. In Canada, it was hoped that because there was a need or demand for immigrants to fill the vast unpopulated areas, there would automatically be a supply of people coming to Canada. Immigration was allowed to take its own course, with occasional promotion especially in Britain. This promotion, combined with subsidized transportation costs and cheap land, produced a steady flow from both Britain and the United States.

This laissez-faire policy was not without its problems. Quebec was concerned that immigration would increase the number of English Canadians and French Canadians would become an even smaller minority. On the other hand, the rest of the provinces saw immigration as essential to their development. Some people thought that the heavy emigration to the United States was the result of new immigrants driving out earlier settlers.

When the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed there was less demand for labour. A succession of crop failures and falling world prices for agricultural products caused further unemployment and a migration of people to urban centres. However, all these problems and even a major depression in the 1890s did not bring any changes in the laissez-faire policy.

At this time, immigration policy fell under the control of the Department of Agriculture. The first Immigration Act in Canada said nothing about excluding any class of immigrants and did not even provide for

The fear that the growth of ethnic groups might foreshadow the "Balkanization" of Canada perhaps had some foundation 50 years ago. Today such a thing is out of the question.

*Royal Commission on
Bilingualism and
Biculturalism*

Population by Ethnic Group, Canada and Provinces, 1971

Ethnic Group	Canada	Nfld.	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.
Population	21,568,310	522,100	111,640	788,960	634,555	6,027,765	7,703,105	988,250	926,245	1,627,875	2,184,620	18,385	34,805
British Isles*	9,624,115	489,565	92,285	611,310	365,735	640,045	4,576,010	414,125	390,190	761,665	1,265,455	8,945	8,785
French	6,180,120	15,410	15,325	80,215	235,025	4,759,360	737,360	86,510	56,200	94,665	96,550	1,230	2,275
Austrian, n.o.s.	42,120	80	5	250	150	2,500	15,765	3,200	3,845	6,310	9,845	110	60
Belgian	51,135	50	75	665	335	8,220	19,955	9,055	3,555	4,265	4,840	50	70
Byelorussian	2,280	5	—	20	45	195	1,135	175	50	255	400	—	5
Chinese	118,815	610	25	935	575	11,905	39,325	3,430	4,605	12,905	44,315	85	115
Czech	57,840	35	20	540	110	4,420	25,765	3,715	4,200	10,320	8,560	70	85
Danish	75,725	170	135	1,055	1,675	2,630	19,075	4,120	5,220	20,120	21,205	155	160
East Indian	67,925	460	135	1,345	465	6,510	30,920	3,205	1,625	4,400	18,795	15	55
Indo-Pakistani	52,100	310	130	1,165	340	5,000	22,445	1,855	1,250	3,215	16,355	15	25
Other	15,830	145	5	185	125	1,510	8,475	1,350	380	1,185	2,440	—	30
Eskimo	17,550	1,055	—	20	5	3,755	760	130	75	135	210	10	11,400
Estonian	18,810	15	10	140	50	1,440	13,730	185	100	845	2,265	15	15
Finnish	59,215	45	—	235	145	1,865	38,515	1,450	1,725	3,590	11,510	95	35
German	1,317,200	2,375	955	40,910	8,410	53,870	475,320	123,065	180,095	231,005	198,315	1,555	1,330
Greek	124,475	100	—	1,220	335	42,870	67,025	2,095	900	3,250	6,615	25	35
Hungarian	131,890	105	20	755	365	12,570	65,695	5,405	13,825	16,240	16,600	195	115
Icelandic	27,905	5	10	160	55	365	2,680	13,070	3,095	2,620	5,745	40	55
Italian	730,820	495	105	3,770	1,380	169,655	463,095	10,445	2,865	24,805	53,795	160	250
Japanese	37,260	20	15	85	40	1,745	15,600	1,335	315	4,460	13,585	40	15
Jewish	296,945	360	60	2,535	1,030	115,990	135,195	20,010	2,195	7,320	12,175	35	30
Latvian	18,180	60	10	105	95	1,415	13,045	840	235	1,010	1,345	25	10
Lithuanian	24,535	25	10	290	65	3,990	15,365	820	475	1,845	1,630	10	15
Native Indian	295,215	1,225	315	4,475	3,915	32,835	62,415	43,035	40,475	44,545	52,220	2,580	7,180
Negro	34,445	70	—	5,850	550	5,225	18,200	1,070	360	1,400	1,660	30	30
Netherlander	425,945	665	1,245	14,845	5,365	12,590	206,940	35,300	19,040	58,565	70,535	515	340
Norwegian	179,290	745	90	1,980	1,410	3,820	20,590	8,960	36,160	51,305	53,245	485	505
Polish	316,425	280	110	3,260	690	23,970	144,115	42,705	26,910	44,325	29,545	245	270
Portuguese	96,875	340	15	475	195	16,555	63,145	3,815	275	2,385	9,635	25	20
Romanian	27,375	10	5	240	90	2,320	9,255	1,375	5,550	4,670	3,765	70	25
Russian	64,475	40	10	245	105	4,060	12,580	4,040	10,030	10,235	22,995	70	65
Slovak	24,030	15	5	130	55	2,305	15,005	1,045	740	2,650	2,070	5	20
Spanish	27,515	110	25	640	310	10,825	10,330	640	210	1,305	3,070	20	30
Swedish	101,870	260	35	835	465	2,005	17,880	8,955	14,635	24,380	31,930	310	180
Syrian													
Lebanese	26,665	405	205	2,005	1,135	8,235	10,540	945	595	1,805	785	5	5
Ukrainian	580,660	175	125	2,315	600	20,325	159,880	114,410	85,920	135,510	60,145	610	635
West Indian	28,025	60	—	400	70	5,050	19,560	1,055	180	855	775	10	5
Yugoslav	104,950	10	30	355	95	6,810	70,060	3,110	2,090	7,410	14,730	150	100
Croatian	23,380	—	—	70	20	1,100	16,860	610	455	1,130	3,120	15	5
Serbian	6,975	—	—	—	10	335	5,475	155	255	275	470	—	—
Slovenian	7,305	—	5	15	—	425	5,635	360	95	290	470	10	—
Yugoslav, n.o.s.	67,295	10	25	275	60	4,950	42,085	1,990	1,280	5,720	10,680	130	90
Other and Unknown	209,690	6,655	245	4,345	3,430	25,510	91,285	11,395	7,695	24,495	33,745	400	495

*British Isles includes English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh
n.o.s. not otherwise specified

Source: Census of Canada, 1971, Vol. 1, Part 3

Immigrants arriving with great hopes for the future.

If one should examine twenty people who turn up to emigrate, he might find one escaped murderer, three or four wasters and ne'er-do-wells, some very poor shopkeepers, artisans or labourers, and there might be one or two stout, hardy peasants in sheepskin coats. Obviously, the peasants are the ones who are wanted here.

Sir Clifford Sifton



any form of examination of immigrants from the United States. However, in 1872, the Act was amended to exclude criminals and other "vicious classes" and in 1879 an Order in Council excluded paupers and destitute immigrants. The only exception to this was in British Columbia where there was considerable concern about the number of Chinese labourers who had been brought in to work on the railway.

Also in 1872, the Immigrant Aid Societies Act was passed. This established the conditions to be met by organizations set up to help immigrants settle in their new country.

Sifton and After (1896-1914)

In 1896 Clifford Sifton was appointed Minister of the Interior and became responsible for immigration. Canada was just recovering from the depression of the 1890s and world

prices for agricultural products were improving. There was a renewed interest in immigrating to Canada from Europe and Sifton took advantage of this in his aggressive immigration policies, particularly for Western Canada. Sifton was the first Canadian minister to promote the idea of selective immigration.

Sifton was convinced that Canada needed many immigrants to work the land if the country was to prosper. At first he concentrated his advertising campaign in Britain, France, the United States and, to a lesser extent, northern and western Europe. These were the countries where most immigrants had come from in the past. Slide presentations, printed material and promises of free land were used in the campaign. Also, agents were paid a fee for every immigrant they persuaded to come to Canada. As there were still not enough immigrants, Sifton shifted his

campaign to eastern and southern Europe. He also encouraged groups of Poles, Ukrainians, Hutterites and Doukhobors to immigrate. This was really the beginning of non-Anglo-Saxon and non-French immigration.

Although he saw the need for massive immigration, Sifton also wanted to be selective about the kind of people who came. Prime Minister Laurier and many other people felt that immigration should be open to anyone, but there was growing pressure for selective immigration. Sifton wanted good sturdy farmers who were used to the land and would not flee to the cities if life became hard. He was not so much concerned about what country they came from as long as they were farmers, farm workers or domestic servants who were used to hard work.

Sifton's concern that industrial workers might cause trouble in the cities, as had happened in the States, was to some extent confirmed. Some of the British labourers arriving in Canada became unemployed and some were used as strike breakers. Canadian labour unions were understandably incensed. As a result of this an amendment to the Act was made in 1905 making it an offence to misrepresent the attractions of immigration to Canada.

In 1906, further controls were introduced. For one thing immigrants had to have "landing money." This helped to stop the flow of the poor and unemployed and also meant that immigrants were not a burden on the Canadian government. Through these amendments Canada established a selective immigration policy that, although changed in detail, basically remains to the present day.

The test of the civilization of any people is the way they treat a foreigner; as a foreigner myself, coming as a young man to Canada, I have nothing but praise for the way I was received in Canada.

Pierre van Paassen, 1934

By 1910 Canada's policies on immigration showed certain definite trends and restrictions. Farmers, farm labourers and female domestic help were encouraged, but people whose occupations would take them to urban centres where they might take work from Canadians were discouraged. In addition people who could not be assimilated easily were not encouraged to come and criminals, the infirm and the mentally ill were banned.

This period was important in the history of immigration. Nearly three million immigrants came to Canada, almost half between 1910 and 1913. Although mainly from Britain and the United States, in spite of Sifton's efforts there were significant numbers from various European countries who settled in the cities as well as in rural areas.

War and Depression (1914-1945)

By 1914 nearly all the good homesteading land had been taken and there were enough industrial workers to meet the demand. In addition, the number of immigrants from non-Anglo-Saxon countries was causing concern among many Canadians.

However, the outbreak of World War I in 1914 changed the pattern of immigration. Emigration from Europe and Britain was cut off, although agricultural workers still arrived from the United States. But this too stopped when the United States entered the war.

When the war ended in 1918 it was assumed that immigration would start again, but this was not the case. The demobilization of the armed forces and the change from wartime production to peacetime production created heavy unemploy-

ment. There was little new agricultural land and investment capital for such things as railway building was limited. Canada did not seem such a promising country to emigrate to. In addition, many European countries were in financial difficulties after the war and few people could raise the money for the journey. On top of all this, people from countries that had fought with Germany in the war were not welcome in Canada. In fact, restrictive measures were passed against enemy aliens.

There was considerable concern over potential labour-management conflict at this time and in 1919 an amendment was made to the Act permitting non-Canadian strike leaders to be deported. Canada's restrictive immigration policy continued until 1922 when some of the bitterness of the war period began to die down. Many of the restrictions were softened or eliminated. Hutterites and Mennonites were again allowed to come to Canada and by 1923 the enemy alien prohibition was withdrawn and restrictions on Asians were relaxed to the extent that farmers, farm labourers and domestic servants were allowed in.

In 1923 a significant decision was made when the federal government accepted several thousand Jewish refugees from Romania on compassionate grounds. Providing they had relatives in Canada and were endorsed by the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society they were accepted.

As economic conditions continued to improve, more active efforts were made to attract agriculturalists, although other groups were not forgotten. The following excerpt gives some indication of the philosophy at that time:

The policy of the Department at the present time is to encourage the immigration of farmers, farm labourers, and female domestic servants from the United States, the British Isles, and certain Northern European countries, namely, France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Iceland.

On the other hand, it is the policy of the Department to do all in its power to keep out of the country undesirables which for the purposes of this review I will divide into three classes.

1. Those physically, mentally or morally unfit whose exclusion was provided for by Act of Parliament last session.
2. Those belonging to nationalities unlikely to assimilate and who consequently prevent the building up of a united nation of people of similar customs and ideals.
3. Those who from their mode of life and occupations are likely to crowd into urban centres and bring about a state of congestion which might result in unemployment and a lowering of the standard of our national life.

Although the restrictions were relaxed, there was no massive immigration to Canada. There was still a lack of agriculturalists with the necessary capital and many immigrants were unwilling to remain on the land. Sometimes they moved to the cities, but many were using Canada as a stopover on their way to the United States.

With the stock market crash of 1929 and the subsequent depression, Canada's immigration policy was tightened up again. As there was no work for many Canadians, only people with substantial capital or those going to close relatives were allowed to come to Canada. Even after the worst of the depression was over refugees attempting to escape from the growing fascist governments in Europe were not given preferential treatment. Again only those with sufficient funds to

Population by Ethnic Group, Canada, 1921-1971

Ethnic Group	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971
British Isles	4,868,738	5,381,071	5,715,904	6,709,685	7,996,669	9,624,115
English	2,545,358	2,741,419	2,968,402	3,630,344	4,195,175	
Irish	1,107,803	1,230,808	1,267,702	1,439,635	1,753,351	
Scottish	1,173,625	1,346,350	1,403,974	1,547,470	1,902,302	
Other	41,952	62,494	75,826	92,236	145,841	
French	2,452,743	2,927,990	3,483,038	4,319,167	5,540,346	6,180,120
Austrian, n.o.s.	107,671	48,639	37,715	32,231	106,535	42,120
Belgian	20,234	27,585	29,711	35,148	61,382	51,135
Chinese	39,587	46,519	34,627	32,528	58,197	118,815
Czech and Slovak	8,840	30,401	42,912	63,959	73,061	81,870
Finnish*	21,494	43,885	41,683	43,745	59,436	59,215
German	294,635	473,544	464,682	619,995	1,049,599	1,317,200
Greek	5,740	9,444	11,692	13,966	56,475	124,475
Hungarian	13,181	40,582	54,582	60,460	126,220	131,890
Indian and Eskimo	113,724	128,890	125,521**	165,607	220,121	312,760
Italian	66,769	98,173	112,625	152,245	450,351	730,820
Japanese	15,868	23,342	23,149	21,663	29,157	37,260
Jewish	126,196	156,726	170,241	181,670	173,344	296,945
Lithuanian	1,970	5,876	7,789	16,224	27,629	24,535
Negro	18,291	19,456	22,174	18,020	32,127	34,445
Netherlander	117,505	148,962	212,863	264,267	429,679	425,945
Polish	53,403	145,503	167,485	219,845	323,517	316,430
Romanian	13,470	29,056	24,689	23,601	43,805	27,375
Russian	100,064	88,148	83,708	91,279	119,168	64,475
Scandinavian	167,359	228,049	244,603	283,024	386,534	384,795
Danish	21,124	34,118	37,439	42,671	85,473	75,725
Icelandic	15,876	19,382	21,050	23,307	30,623	27,905
Norwegian	68,856	93,243	100,718	119,266	148,681	179,290
Swedish	61,503	81,306	85,396	97,780	121,757	101,870
Ukrainian	106,721	225,113	305,929	395,043	473,337	580,660
Yugoslav	3,906	16,174	21,214	21,404	68,587	104,955
Other European	17,945	9,392	9,787	35,616	88,190	194,850
Other Asian	10,459	14,687	16,288	18,636	34,399	129,460
Other and Unknown	21,436	9,579	42,028	170,401	210,382	171,645
Total***	8,787,949	10,376,786	11,506,655	14,009,429	18,238,247	21,568,310

*Includes Estonian prior to 1951

**Excludes persons of mixed Indian and other parentage

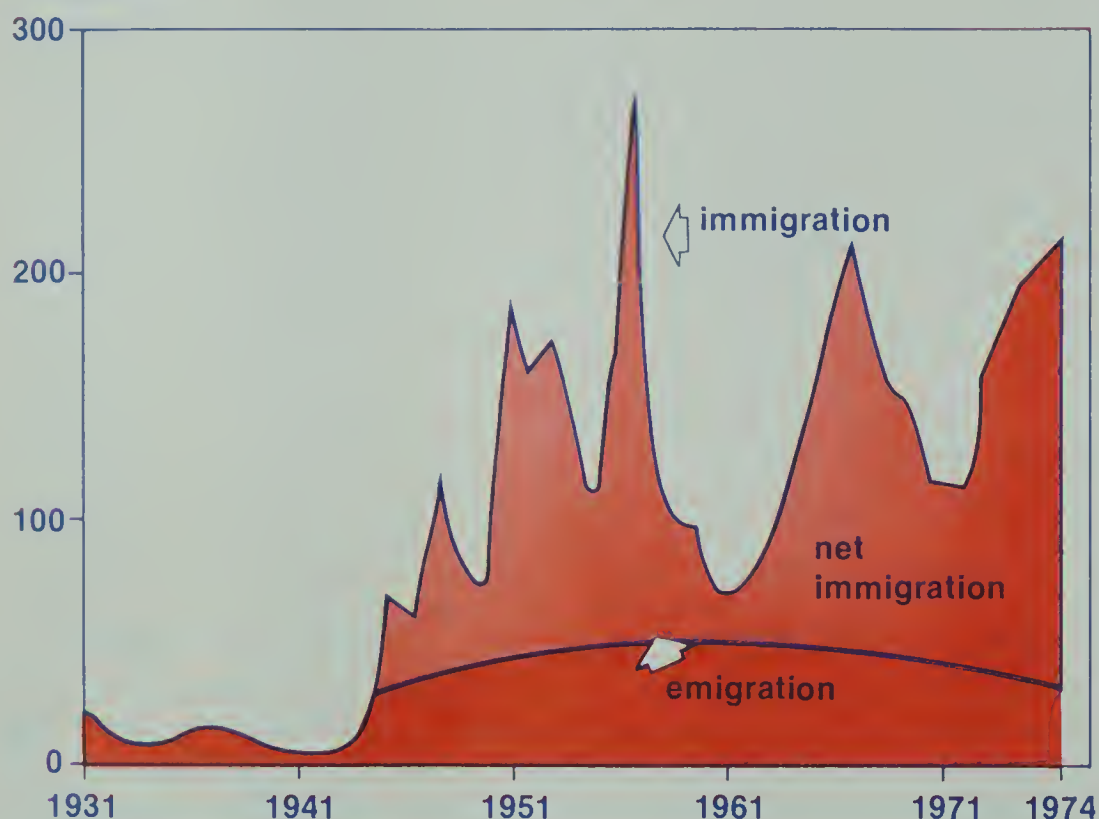
***Excludes Newfoundland prior to 1951

n.o.s. not otherwise specified

Source: Censuses of Canada

Canada's Emigration and Immigration, 1946-1974

Thousands



Source: Department of Manpower and Immigration

establish themselves in Canada were allowed to come.

With the outbreak of World War II immigration all but stopped, but the immigration policy remained much the same except that regulations regarding enemy aliens were immediately re-introduced. Provisions were also made to house children evacuated from Britain, refugees and certain foreign merchant seamen.

As we have seen, throughout this period the government's policy was to encourage immigration to settle the land, and British, Americans and, to a lesser extent, northern and western Europeans were favoured.

The Second Flowering (1946-1961)

The period since World War II has seen significant changes in policy and in the kinds of people immigrating to Canada. After the war many Canadians wanted more liberal immigration laws. Canada needed people to develop the country and many Canadians wanted to rescue relatives and friends from the chaos in Europe. Foreign governments also wanted people to emigrate to relieve some of their economic problems resulting from the war.

Although there were reservations about how Canada would cope with an influx of people while adjusting to a peacetime economy, Canadian officials realized they had a responsibility to assist Western European nations. An enormous number of people were left homeless after the war and Canada decided to open the doors at least to close relatives of Canadian residents, including orphaned nephews and nieces. In addition 4500 ex-members of the Polish army were admitted to work in agriculture and other primary industries.

By 1947 residents of Canada could sponsor immigrants if they could guarantee them employment in agriculture, mining or lumbering. In May of the same year, Prime Minister Mackenzie King announced that the government had decided to undertake a vigorous program to encourage immigration. A larger population would help develop the resources so Canada would not be as dependent on exporting primary products.

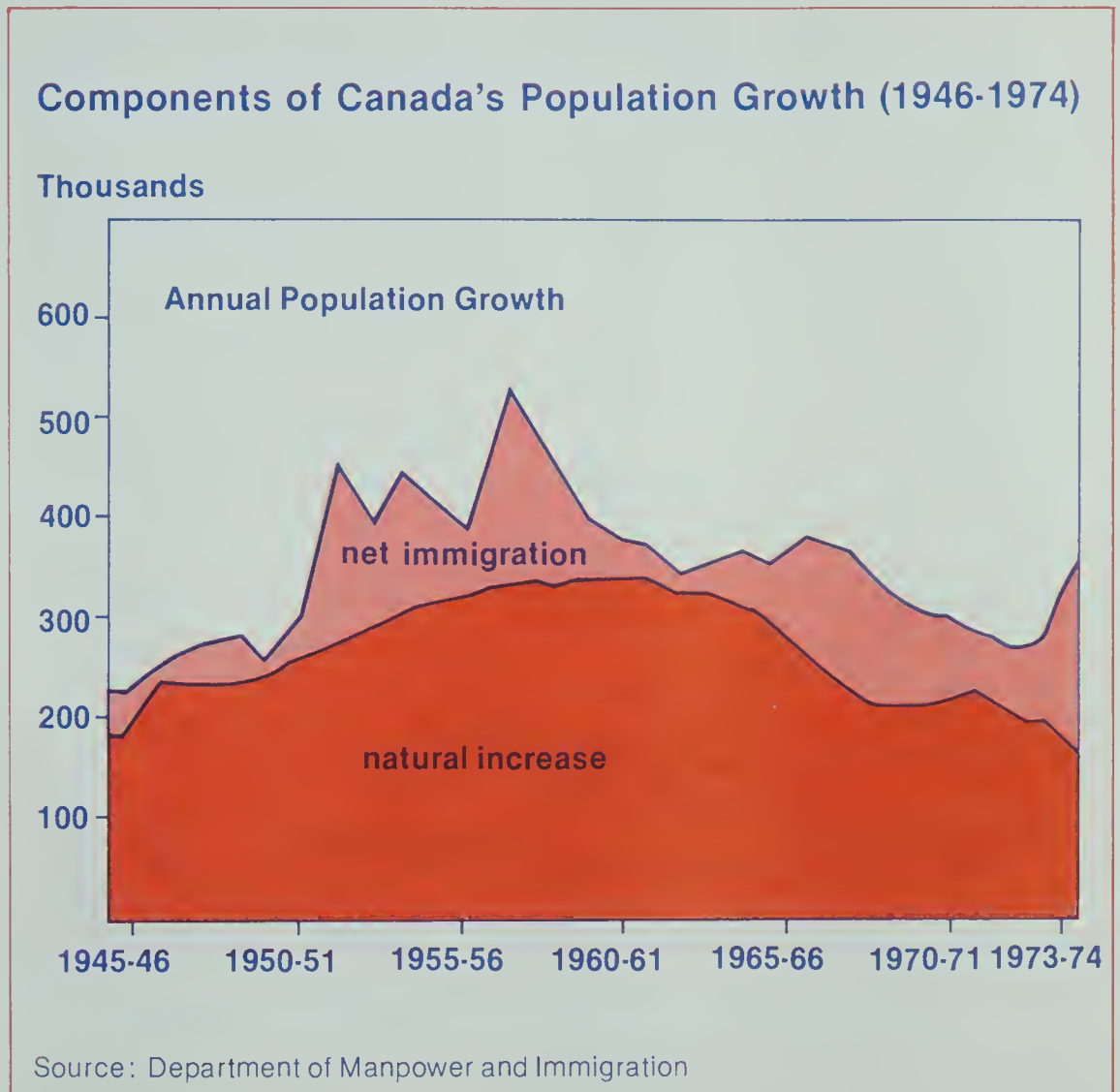
Several other important developments also took place during this period. Canada became a member of the Intergovernmental Committee

on Refugees and regulations were passed allowing a large number of displaced persons to come to Canada. Agreements also were made with agencies such as the Canadian Christian Council for the Resettlement of Refugees to select and settle immigrants.

By 1950 it was clear that Canada was still not attracting enough immigrants to fill the vacant jobs. As a result new regulations were adopted. Although British, Irish, French and American immigrants were still preferred, others were welcomed if they had suitable "climatic, educational, social, industrial, and labour" backgrounds. Blacks were still not allowed in unless they were in the preferred classes or spouses or children of Canadian residents.

After restrictions on enemy aliens and some Asians were lifted in 1951 there was a considerable increase in the number of immigrants. However, not all of these results were the ones anticipated. Although the expected increase from Britain did materialize, the increase in immigrants from southern Europe had not been expected. Furthermore, many of the immigrants who came were not suited for or skilled in the types of work available in Canada.

It was during this period that such organizations as the Canadian Christian Council for the Resettlement of Refugees, the Canadian Jewish Congress, and the Rural Settlement Society of Canada were encouraged by the government to expand their selection and settlement assistance. In addition, the government began to seek the advice of such groups as the Trades and Labour Congress, the Canadian Chamber of Commerce and the Canadian Council of Churches. At this time the government had to find



a way of getting immigrants who could fill the vacant jobs and restricting those for whom there was no work available.

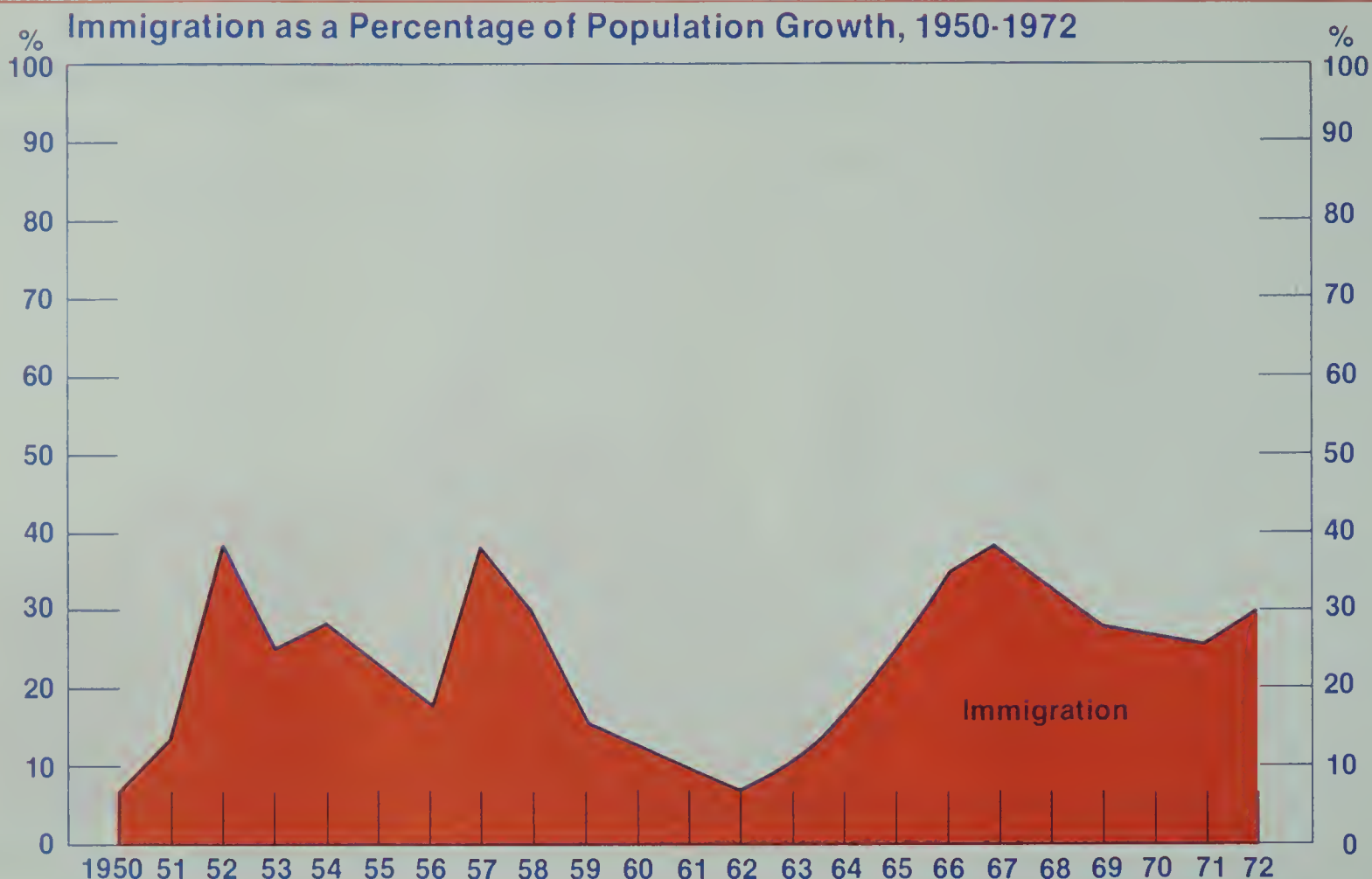
During this period the Hungarian uprising and the Suez crisis occurred. The government undertook a vigorous program to help Hungarian refugees. Special processing teams were rushed to the spot, occupational standards were reduced, medical examinations were often deferred and transportation arrangements were made and paid for by the government.

The number of refugees from the Suez crisis combined with the Hungarian refugees made 1957 a record year for postwar immigration.

However, as there were signs that the economic boom was rapidly coming to an end, the flow of immigrants was quickly reduced.

The four years from 1958-1961 were difficult ones for immigration officials. On the one hand, there was an economic recession and heavy unemployment. On the other hand, Canada had to retain its image as a nation for immigration in future years. This dilemma was further complicated by the increasing problem of unqualified people entering Canada as visitors and then seeking to stay permanently. This problem was difficult to deal with as it aroused much public controversy.

During this period there was con-



Source: Statistics Canada, *Perspective Canada: A Compendium of Social Statistics* (Ottawa: 1974), Chart 13.18, p. 276.

siderable objection to restrictions on non-white immigrants. In particular, some of the newly independent Commonwealth nations were very critical of Canadian policies. But again the high unemployment rate and the low skill of the immigrants from these nations combined to delay any policy changes in these areas.

The immigration policies of this period are often remembered for the restrictions dictated by the economics of the recession. However, the efforts to accommodate displaced people in the immediate postwar years and the response to refugee crises show that Canadian policies did not lack humanitarianism. Two million people came to Canada during these years at an average rate of 130 000 each year.

However, the significant differences from year to year reflect the government's efforts to relate immigration to labour needs. It is also significant that Britain and the United States remained important sources of immigrants but they no longer predominated.

The Latest Phase

As we have seen, policy makers in the late fifties and early sixties were faced with a major dilemma. They had to try and find a policy that would not aggravate the economic problems of recession but at the same time would not be so restrictive as to damage Canada's image for immigration in the future.

It was not until 1962 that some form of solution to the problem was found. The new policy allowed Canadian residents to sponsor spouses, parents, grandparents, fiancés, unmarried children under twenty-one years of age, regardless of nationality but subject to their "education, training, skills, or other

special qualifications.” Under the new policy, unsponsored immigrants regardless of nationality were admissible on the same criteria “education, training, skills, or other special qualifications.” In effect, this meant that previously preferred countries lost nothing but Asian, African, Latin American and Caribbean countries gained considerably as they could now sponsor relatives.

As Canada’s economic situation was still precarious, preference was given to immigrants from the professional occupations and workers with lower qualifications were not encouraged. As few of the immigrants from the developing nations could meet the criteria, the new regulations made very little impact.

In 1964 the federal government commissioned an independent study by Mr. Joseph Sedgwick, QC, to examine the issue of visitors seeking immigrant status. This was the result of a bitter public outcry against a series of deportations. As a result of the inquiry the Immigration Appeal Board was set up. However, by 1964 the problem of visitors-turned-immigrants was totally out of control. As they could not meet the necessary criteria, thousands of people, particularly Italians, Greeks and Portuguese, were entering Canada as visitors and then, through influential people and organizations, were applying to remain permanently. To have tried to enforce the policy at that point would have been politically unfeasible as it would have meant thousands of deportations.

No decision on a new policy or form of action was made until the total findings of Mr. Sedgwick’s

commission were released. At this point the government realized they would have to review the immigration policy completely and undertook the preparation of a White Paper. As the White Paper would not be ready for nearly two years, the government decided in the interim to proceed on some of Mr. Sedgwick’s recommendations.

The government did not want to deport all visitor applicants from 1964 but neither did it want to create further applicants by a total amnesty. As a result a middle-of-the-road policy was reached. All applicants who were established in employment or business, had ten years of education, or had married Canadian citizens were allowed to remain. Future applicants would only be granted landed status if they met the required unsponsored immigrant status or were the spouses or minor children of Canadian residents. All others were refused landed status and were deported.

The White Paper of 1966

When the recommendations of the White Paper were released in 1966 they outlined the potential direction for the future of Canadian immigration policy. It provided the traditional reasons for expanding immigration such as population growth, expansion of the domestic market, lower per capita cost of government and public services and cultural enrichment. It also suggested reservations about an unselective immigration policy. The needs of the labour market should still be taken into consideration. It did not deny the importance of family union and assistance to the less privileged, but the major emphasis was on the economics of the labour force. One of the most significant points of the report was the recommendation that there should be no discrimination in immigration policy.

The 1967 Regulations

Immigration by Merit

Following the creation of the Department of Manpower and Immigration and the production of a White Paper on Immigration in 1966, the government again undertook a major review of the regulations and in 1967 produced the “points system” for evaluating prospective immigrants. A modified form of that system is in use today.

R.J. Drummond gives an outline of the points system in his article, “Ethnic Exclusion and Canadian Immigration Policy.”

Ethnic Exclusion and Canadian Immigration Policy **by R.J. Drummond**

The single most significant aspect of the points system is that it was in-

tended to be applied to all immigrants regardless of ethnic origin, country of last residence, citizenship or nationality. Thus, while the *Canada Year Book* of 1924 stated that:

Canadians generally prefer that settlers should be of a readily assimilable type, already identified by race or language with one or another of the two great races now inhabiting this country. . . . The preferable settlers are those who speak the English language — those coming from the United Kingdom or the United States.

The 1966 White Paper stated:

The Canadian population has become much more cosmopolitan in the last twenty years, and thereby there has undoubtedly been a qualitative improvement in the variety and richness of our cultural life.

Prospective immigrants, other than refugees, who do not fall into one or another of the prohibited classes (mainly concerned with illness, criminality, or likelihood of becoming a charge on the public purse) must, under present law, be considered primarily on the basis of their capacity to sustain themselves in the Canadian economy.

Accordingly, applicants are divided into three groups: independent applicants, sponsored dependants, and nominated relatives. Sponsored dependants are those applicants who are members of the immediate family of a Canadian resident and are therefore not immediately destined for entry to the labour force. They are admissible without recourse to the points system as part of the government's intention to keep family units together.

Nominated relatives include per-

sons who are not expected to be dependent on their nominator for long-term support. They must be members of his family, but are not members of his immediate household. Examples include brothers and sisters or uncles and aunts. These nominated relatives are awarded from 15 to 30 points out of a possible 100 depending on their relationship to the nominator and whether the nominator is a citizen or landed immigrant. Each nominated relative must then be assessed on a series of factors related to his/her long-term prospects for successful settlement. These factors can result in the awarding of up to 70 points; they include education and training (up to 20 points, 1 for each year of formal training); personal qualities (assessed by the immigration selection officer on the basis of a personal interview — up to 15 points); occupational demand in Canada (up to 15 points on the basis of assessments of the labour market performed by the Department of Manpower and Immigration); occupational skill (up to 10 points); and age (10 points for those between 18 and 35, with 1 point deducted for each year of age over 35 for others).

Independent applicants must be assessed on these five long-term factors and on four short-term factors as well. Applicants in either category are generally adjudged likely to settle successfully if they amass 50 of the possible 100 points. A simplified version of the point system follows. The four short-term factors related to independent applicants are knowledge of English and/or French (up to 5 points for knowledge of each language); arranged employment or designated occupation (applicants who have a

job arranged or practice an occupation in great demand receive 10 points; [since October, 1974] applicants who do not receive these 10 points have a further 10 points deducted); presence of any relative in Canada (3 points if relative not in municipality where applicant plans to live, 5 points if relative in same municipality); and general occupational demand in the area in which the applicant plans to live (up to 5 points). Finally, it should be noted that since 1972 all applications for admission to Canada as a landed immigrant must be made from outside Canada.

There remains a certain amount of discretion on the part of the selection officer, both in the personal interview and in his authority to recommend that additional facts be taken into account in judging whether the applicant is likely to establish himself successfully. Nonetheless, it is clearly the intention of the Department of Manpower and Immigration that these selection procedures not be exercised so as to distinguish immigrants on the basis of ethnic origin or nationality. In this respect, Canada has moved away from its earlier ethnic exclusiveness in the direction of a more non-discriminatory policy. Nonetheless, the location of processing facilities in formerly "preferred" areas and the maintenance of stringent educational and economic criteria mean that we have still not moved to a completely open policy of admission. Canadians must decide whether today's "achievement-oriented" criteria of selection are defensible; it is pretty clear that yesterday's ethnic criteria were not.

(Abridged and reprinted by permission of the author.)

We need to be more open about racial prejudice in the community. Sweeping the problem under the carpet doesn't get rid of it.

Kathleen Ruff,
BC Human Rights Director,
1975

Conclusion

It would be useful here to quote directly from the conclusion of "The Immigration Program."

Historically, immigration priorities and objectives have shifted with changes in the perception of national requirements, in response to the development of Canada's society and economy, and as a consequence of external pressures. Immigration policy-makers through the years have been obliged to take into account a wide variety of objectives, which often have jostled each other for attention. At times special emphasis has been accorded to population growth, or to the particular economic imperatives of the day. At other times humanitarian and social considerations, such as international refugee crises or the call to reunite families, have taken precedence. This need to respond to rapidly changing circumstances, and to strike a reasonable balance between often conflicting aims, is central to Canada's immigration history.

Although one may search that history in vain for a single dominant policy objective, immigration has consistently served a broad national purpose. It has been an essential tool in building the Canada of today. Policy, and the framework of law and regulation within which policy operates, must continue to show resilience in meeting new challenges if immigration is to make its best contribution to constructing the Canada of tomorrow.

Personal Prejudice

All of us have differing views on a number of subjects and issues. We probably do not have the same tastes in sports, music, art, literature, politics or fashion. You may have very strong feelings about some of these topics. But when it comes to such matters as ethnicity, cultural heritage and nationalism our strong opinions can become very emotional and even bitter.

Attitudes

All of us like to consider ourselves very open-minded and without prejudice. Our political philosophers, our democratic traditions and our present leaders all exhort us to be free of prejudice whether it involves race, sex, religion or creed. Our Bill of Rights, Mr. Trudeau's slogan, "The Just Society," and such organizations as the Canadian Civil Liberties Association and the Ontario Human Rights Commission clearly demonstrate our concern over equality and non-discrimination.

However, prejudice does exist in Canadian society. All of us have heard and probably told a variety of ethnic jokes either in school or among other friends. Some of these jokes are given in good spirit and received as such. But we are all aware that many of these jokes are based on how we see the particular ethnic group involved. They indicate a certain degree of prejudice and stereotyping.

Prejudice in its simplest terms means to prejudge or make up your mind about someone or something in advance. Prejudice and bias are therefore illogical. Often bias is not

very important; one colour is nicer than another, one hockey player is more proficient than another, one rock group is superior to another. However, when prejudice taints our view of a person or group to the point where any relationships with them are already determined by our unproven or unfounded beliefs we are clearly being affected by our prejudices.

Stereotyping

Prejudice often leads to the practice of stereotyping. When we begin to attribute to an individual all the characteristics that we normally identify with a total group we are stereotyping that individual. Whether consciously or unconsciously, we are all guilty of this. We automatically assume that some occupations are more appropriate for men or women. Certain nationalities are thought to behave in particular ways or have particular characteristics. For examples, to see an Irishman carrying a four-leaf clover reinforces the stereotype of the Irish as superstitious. It does not matter that countless other people of various nationalities may also carry the same good luck charm.

It is important to realize that, in the same way as we mature physically, we also go through a socialization process. This means an individual learns to adjust to his or her society's norms and become accepted by the society. This of course begins at birth and continues until we die. It primarily involves learning from those with whom we most associate; our family, peer groups, classmates, in clubs, teams, etc.

Discrimination is more muted here, and of course, more hypocritical. It is exercised by "gentlemen bigots" who tell you "We'd like to hire you but it might affect our business."

Anonymous, Time, February 17, 1975

Prejudice is Learned

During this process, people can also learn prejudices and stereotyping. We are not born with prejudice but acquire it over a period of time. In the same way as we learn other social lessons, we learn prejudice and stereotyping.

This is not to suggest that families deliberately teach their children to be prejudiced. But certain attitudes, behaviour and speech convey feelings of prejudice and stereotyping to children. Unfortunately this often happens without the parents being aware of what they are doing.

One of the most disturbing aspects of all this is the fact that many people are prejudiced without realizing it. Many people attempt to rationalize their prejudices by providing rather scant evidence to support their opinions.

What Is Discrimination?

Prejudice and stereotyping become destructive when they affect day-to-day relationships. If people actively show prejudice and stereotyping, then they are discriminating. For example, you may feel that you do not like a particular person or ethnic group. But by simply having those feelings you have not in any way actively discriminated against anyone. However, by refusing to take part in some activity because someone of that ethnic group is involved, you are clearly allowing your prejudice to become a matter of discrimination. Discrimination can exist at the personal level, group level, national level and even international level.

Selected Articles from the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Article 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 6

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 9

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 12

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State.
2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14

1. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.
2. This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15

1. Everyone has the right to a nationality.
2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 27

1. Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

Article 30

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

*Hundred and eighty-third plenary meeting.
10 December 1948*



Examples of Prejudice in Canada

If we examine Canadian society in a historical as well as a contemporary context, we can see evidence of stereotyping and prejudice. The treatment of Canada's native people, the attitudes towards the Chinese labourers on the CPR, the evacuation and internment of Japanese Canadians during World War II, and the slowness with which we responded to the needs of orphan children in Southeast Asia are all examples of discrimination that Canadians should not be proud of. It is important to remember that we as individuals in a democratic society must share the responsibility for such acts of national discrimination.

Implications

It is clearly impossible ever to achieve cooperation or at least tolerance among various groups, ethnic or otherwise, if the relationship is dominated by prejudice, stereotyping, and open discrimination. If we are to have a society based on tolerance and cooperation, not on tension and conflict, it is important to overcome or at least minimize prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination. A major step in this direction is to become better acquainted with the various ethnic groups in Canadian society.

The next four chapters will give you with some of the facts about Canada's many ethnic groups. In the final chapter we will return to some of the major issues raised here.

Summary

In his New Year's message to the people of Canada in 1976, Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau asked Canadians to decide what kind of society they wanted in the future. To decide this, we must first determine who we are today and what we have been in the past. No one denies that we are a multicultural country, but it is not so certain whether Canadians wish to take full advantage of the opportunities this offers. There are many differences among Canadians whether we like it or not. Indeed, our Canadian identity might more accurately be described as a host of identities.

In this chapter we have examined some of the components and aspects of our Canadian nationhood that both unite and divide us. Although our immigration policy has been open and fairly liberal, compared to the policies of other nations, Canadian government regulations and public attitudes all too often have been prejudiced and discriminatory. As we examine proposals for a future Canadian immigration policy, we are really taking part in the continuing debate about the kind of country we want to have in years to come.

Whatever our personal decision might be, it must be made thoughtfully and with full recognition of our individual attitudes and biases. The rights of minorities must be respected and their views listened to. The sensitivity with which a democracy treats its minorities is a clear indicator of the quality of life in that country. Whatever choices Canadians make for their future, the healthy recognition and enjoyment of their many individual differences must be a fundamental ingredient.

Chapter Two: Native People



What are some of the characteristics of traditional native culture?
Has European contact benefited native people?
How have the native people contributed to Canada's development?
Is Canada a "just" society today?



Who discovered Canada and founded this nation on the northern half of the North American continent? The Vikings? The Irish? Portuguese fishermen? Historians have long spoken of Canada's two "founding races," meaning the French and the English. And with the great tide of immigration during the last century this country has now become multicultural. However, no one deserves the title of first Canadian more than those people who arrived some 20 000 years before the first European touched these shores. This lack of recognition is, however, much less important than the fact that the native people share few of the benefits of Canada's high standard of living. Their health services, housing and educational opportunities are all far behind those of most Canadians. This, coupled with the fact that they have not played any important part in politics and have an extremely high unemployment rate, has left many native people very demoralized. Today, they are among the poorest in a land that was once their sole domain.

In a moving speech before a crowd of 30 000 people in Vancouver on July 1, 1967, Chief Dan George spoke eloquently of his impressions, as an Indian, of Canada's first 100 years.

Today, when you celebrate your hundred years, oh Canada, I am sad for all the Indian people throughout the land. For I have known you when your forests were mine; when they gave me my meat and my clothing. I have known you in your streams and rivers where your fish flashed and danced in the sun, where the waters said, "Come, come and eat of my abundance."

But in the long hundred years since the white man came, I have seen my freedom disappear like the salmon going mysteriously out to sea. The white man's strange customs, which I could not understand, pressed down upon me until I could no longer breathe.

When I fought to protect my land and my home, I was called a savage. When I neither understood nor welcomed this way of life, I was called lazy.

How did this happen? How have Canada's original inhabitants become disinherited from the land they once roamed so freely? What are the differences between their traditional way of life and that of the European? And what will be the result of this long struggle to maintain their culture and their individual dignity? Answers to these questions may not be encouraging, but all Canadians must thoughtfully examine the issues involved and try to find ways to solve the problems. This chapter will help us to begin that investigation.

Many Canadians assume that the native people of North America are a single homogeneous historical and cultural group. This myth of *the* native people ignores the obvious distinction between Indians and Inuit. It also glosses over the fact that there are many Indian nations each with a unique culture of its own.

Although their cultures were very different from one another, all native people faced a common problem. At one time or another, every native community has made contact with white European society. Each time the native people had to decide how to deal with the newcomers. In this chapter we will examine native peoples and their efforts to adapt to the new circumstances that profoundly changed their way of life.

The Arrival of the Europeans

It is thought likely that Europeans first found their way to North America about 545 AD. Some historians believe that an Irishman, St. Brendan, was the first white man to set foot on the western shore of the Atlantic. Although there were certainly many explorers in America before Columbus made his historic journey, the early expeditions were infrequent and rarely lasted for any length of time. There is, for example, considerable evidence of Scandinavian exploration and even a few settlements but there was little important contact until about 500 years ago. In 1497, five years after Columbus discovered America, an Italian working for the English government, Giovanni Caboto (more

commonly known as John Cabot), claimed what is now Canada for the Crown of England.

But is it really appropriate to use the word "discover" to refer to the exploration of a place that was already the homeland of several million people? The fact that the Europeans thought that they had come upon a new and open land tells us something about their attitude towards the people that already lived in both North and South America.

The Europeans, of course, had not originally set out in search of America. The very name that they gave the people who lived here is a good illustration of the mistaken ideas of the European adventurers. The explorers had been looking for a fast trade route to India. When they arrived on the coast of Florida and the islands of the Caribbean they thought they had reached India and called the people that they found there "Indians." The name was never changed even when they



These Indians are called RED, from their custom of painting themselves with red ochre and WILD, because they secret themselves in the woods a conduct which their defenseless condition, and the inhuman treatment which they have always experienced from strangers have compelled them to adopt.

*Capt. George Cartwright,
on the Beothuk, 1770*

learned the names that the Indians used for themselves. However, this is a trivial matter compared to the more serious ways in which the native culture was destroyed by the arrival of the European adventurers and settlers.

Adventurers and Traders

The early goals of the Europeans were to find various raw materials needed for their own expanding economy. There was a serious problem of overpopulation in parts of Europe and the New World was important because it was a potential source of food supplies as well as other goods. In particular, early adventurers from Britain were interested in the fisheries off the coast of Newfoundland. A little later, the French explored and settled the territory now known as Quebec. The French were attracted for the most part by the furs they could trade for with the native people. However, neither the English nor the French in North America had much thought for the Indians except when the native people proved useful. They were a good source of furs and also taught the newly arrived Europeans how to survive in the northern forests.

The Tragedy of the Beothuks

Generally the Europeans were friendly and cooperative with the native peoples. However, we must never forget the callous and brutal treatment some native communities suffered. Perhaps the most important example was the elimination of the Beothuk tribe in Newfoundland. These people were the first to be called “redskins” because of their custom of using a reddish substance as body paint. The

spectacle no doubt amused the Europeans and thus the name arose. However, the behaviour of the Europeans was anything but amusing. They often hunted and killed the native people of Newfoundland as blood sport.

Initial efforts to establish friendly relations between the Europeans and the Beothuk people met with little success. Accordingly, the Europeans started shooting the Indians whenever they found them. To some, this was no more than a game. To others, it was a means of ensuring that the Beothuk would not come near white communities and steal from the settlers. The practice did not exterminate the tribe, but disease and starvation finished what guns had started. By the early 1820s only two small groups of Beothuk remained. One group met with a party of whites. They fell to their knees and begged for food, but they were shot on the spot. The second group — three women — were faced with starvation. Although they fully expected to be killed, they gave themselves up to the whites. Surprisingly, they received much better treatment, but they did not escape the white man’s diseases. The last of the Beothuk, Nancy Shanawdithit, died in St. John’s in 1829.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the entire Beothuk nation had ceased to exist. To call the European treatment of native peoples genocide is often thought an exaggeration. Nevertheless, although it may be offensive to some people, it is not too strong a word to refer to the elimination of the Beothuk people.

In general, however, relations between the natives and the white men were not violent, although

there were skirmishes and occasional wars. In the vast majority of the cases the conflict was between traditional native culture and modern European technology.

Traditional Versus Modern Society

The native people of Canada lived in what may generally be described as a traditional society before contact with Europeans. In this section we will be discussing the basic differences between traditional societies and modern societies. These differences are important because even though the Europeans who came to Canada 300 years ago were very different from people today, they were much more different from the native people they met.

The European explorers and traders were in many ways modern men. Their attitudes and values resembled our own. Even though they had ideas that we might now consider old-fashioned (they often did not approve of democracy or of religious toleration), they had many ideas in common with us today. In particular, they believed in the importance of private property, in the right of people to make a profit in business, and in the idea that progress and wealth were things of value. They were individuals with a spirit of adventure and, perhaps, greed. For them, it was important to acquire material possessions and to use all the skills of human reason to gain such possessions.

Indians do not hinder the progress of
their dead by embalming or tight
coffining. When the spirit has gone they
give the body back to the earth.
Lovely tender herbage bursts from the
graves, swiftly, exulting over corruption
Emily Carr

The differences between modern and traditional societies involve almost every facet of social life. In the next few pages we will describe some of these differences. As you will see, all the differences combine to produce two very different patterns of culture. These cultural patterns — traditional and modern — cannot live together easily. When they come in contact, one or the other usually withers and dies.

Family Life

The Nuclear Family

In modern Canadian society, most people live in what is known as a *nuclear family* arrangement. For the most part, we live in families consisting of two parents and a number of children. Most families do not live with grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins. Except under unusual circumstances, our closest friends and the people to whom we owe loyalty are not our distant relatives but people who are neighbours or people we work with. They are people with whom we have no blood relationship at all.

But this kind of family arrangement has not always been the most common way of life. Until a few hundred years ago, people believed that the family was all-important. In fact, people identified and defined themselves by their family structure. They did not have the same idea of an individual personality that we have today. They saw themselves largely in terms of the role they played within their family group.

The Extended Family

The traditional family did not simply include you, your parents, your brothers and sisters and, occasionally, others who came to a family reunion on Thanksgiving, Christmas or

a grandmother's seventy-fifth birthday. The traditional family was an entire clan, tribe or often a group that inhabited a large region of the country and stayed there for generation after generation. People who had the same last name, for example, were expected to respect others of that name and to come to their assistance in time of trouble. In Scotland, for example, the idea of a Campbell taking the side of an Angus was unthinkable if the Angus in question was having a dispute with another Campbell.

The family structure in traditional societies is known as an *extended family*. This type of family structure cannot easily be preserved in modern society. Sometimes in Africa and Asia, when a member of a family moves to a city and becomes successful, many of his relatives come and move in with him. Success in the modern world is often hampered by obligations to one's traditional background. This same practice often occurs in Canada. One analyst, in a major study of current problems encountered by native people, reported this comment by a Canadian Indian who was "making it" in a large city. He said:

Yes, some day I will be a successful Indian. I have been told that it is difficult to be successful and to be an Indian because, unfortunately, those of your Indian friends who cannot make it by themselves begin to rely on you and expect all sorts of things from you. I think successful Indians in many cases are more or less forced to give up their Indian associations.

Indians like this are feeling the inevitable consequences of modernization.

The traditional family in Europe

began to break down as soon as people left their work on feudal manors and began to move around in search of other work. In traditional societies people do not usually move away from their ancestral homelands where everyone depends upon everyone else. With little sense of private enterprise and little individual initiative, people in traditional families worked for the common good rather than for personal benefit. In the extended family there is a deep sense of loyalty and a deep feeling of involvement with members of the clan. When close relationships like this begin to break down it can have a very damaging psychological effect. It can lead to unbearable loneliness and many native people who have come to the cities return to their reserve.

It is very difficult for a person from a traditional setting to cope with modern life. In Canada, we encourage people to move all over the country. We ask people to become economically self-sufficient and responsible to no one but themselves. We decry people who live on welfare. In this kind of competitive and individualistic society, the extended family breaks down and people are left to fend for themselves. Faced with this, it is not surprising that many native people prefer their own way of life to that in a modern city.

Religion

In traditional societies, religion is much more important than in modern societies. By this, we do not mean that people now attend church less frequently and in smaller numbers than in the past. But the overall importance of religion in everyday life has grown less, even for devout religious believers. In traditional societies, all nature and all human activities had religious mean-

A burial site of the Blackfoot, about 1890.



ing. The animals of the forest, the crops in the fields, even the rocks and rivers were the homes of spirits and supernatural beings. To the traditional mind, God or, more often, gods were everywhere and in everything.

We can see something of this in the heritage of Western civilization. The Greeks and ancient Romans had all kinds of gods inhabiting their world. The Norsemen, too, saw divine activity in planting, travel and war. Even such mythical creatures as the Irish leprachaun come from a time when we treated all creation with respect and saw some spiritual meaning in every aspect of our lives.

Today, the religious aspect of human life plays a comparatively small part in our affairs. For many people, religion is something that is practiced on a Sunday morning or a Saturday evening at an appointed time and in a particular place. It is

important to many people but it does not influence their lives totally. Even if they try to follow the ethics and morals taught by their religion, they frequently do not, as a matter of course, see their God or gods in everything. Occasionally they might be overcome by a splendid sunset or by the sound of the ocean and find in such natural phenomena a personally moving experience. In traditional societies, however, all experience is spiritual for religion had not yet been compartmentalized. All nature and all life was seen as holy.

Ascription may be simply defined as the tendency to treat people on the basis of who they are rather than what they can do. Thus, if you are treated in a particular way because of your age, your sex, your ethnicity or your religion, people are treating you according to ascribed characteristics.

Ralph V. Barrett

Achievement Versus Ascription

In traditional societies, people are what their society tells them to be. There is little individual freedom in the modern sense of the term. On the other hand, in our modern society, we like to believe that people are pretty much what they make of themselves. In traditional societies, people tend to be judged by ascribed characteristics. As we saw in Chapter 1, these are characteristics over which people have little or no control. Some examples are age, sex and ethnicity. You have no control over when you were born, your sex or your place of birth. Nevertheless, in traditional societies, these facts are extremely important in determining how you will be treated. If you are an older person, it is normal that you will be treated with respect and asked for your advice simply because of your age. If you

are a woman you will be expected to do certain kinds of work because of your sex. If you are a stranger to a tribe you may be treated with suspicion or even hostility simply because of your place of origin.

In modern society, we like to think that these characteristics are less important than what we do or achieve. In some cases we do practise what we preach. We support the idea of equality of opportunity for all people. People succeed because they deserve to and not because of factors they cannot control. A simple analysis of school examinations should illustrate this principle. Examinations are designed to be fair in the sense that everyone has an equal opportunity to do well (or badly). If you study hard, understand the subject matter and write the examination you will be judged according to your performance and you will do well. You will not be judged according to the ascriptive characteristics noted earlier. Women, for example, write the same examinations as men. People of Chinese ancestry compete equally with people of German background, at least in the sense that they are both asked to do an examination in the same amount of time and under the same conditions. One person does not get 30 minutes while another is allowed an hour and given the added privilege of bringing notes into the examination.

Another example of this kind of emphasis upon achievement came with the introduction of civil service examinations. Traditionally, civil service positions were given to people who were friends of the king or sons of aristocrats. In China, this changed about 2000 years ago, and in England about 75 years ago. As the civil service grew larger and

larger, it was important to have people who were not merely highly born but who were competent as well. The idea of competition even for a job as a clerk in a large office was born.

As you can see, there are significant differences between modern and traditional attitudes to evaluating a person's status in society. An understanding of such differences is crucial if we are to understand many of the problems facing native people today.

In our society, there is great pressure on the individual to rely on his or her own wits and on his ability to compete with all rivals. In a sense, everyone in our society is a rival. We value individual initiative, which may simply be a polite word for aggression. Native culture is quite different. Individualism is not greatly valued by traditional societies. Someone who is too individualistic is actually dangerous to the group. He cannot be counted on to do the jobs that are traditionally assigned to him. He might try to engage in free enterprise and thereby upset the delicate balance of the tribal system. This is not to say that individual skills are not encouraged. People are expected to learn to do their appointed tasks as well as they can. However, the reason for doing these tasks well is not so that the individual can gain personal recognition from the group and enjoy special privileges. Every individual should contribute to the best of his or her ability to the common task of keeping the society alive and flourishing.

Communication

A major characteristic of modern society is its tendency towards bureaucracy. Traditional societies tend to concentrate on myths and

legends that are passed on by word of mouth, rather than on formal, written statements. In a modern society people skilled at writing reports and memos are considered valuable. In a traditional society it was the capacity to speak well and to persuade others through oratory that was prized. The following excerpt shows how much Indian orators have impressed European commentators.

Indian Oratory by Ethel T. Raymond

Indian oratory, like that of most savage races, is poetical and picturesque in thought and expression. It abounds in imagery and is not without touches of pathos and humour. The unlettered Indian has no rich store of written history from which to draw his illustrations. He takes them from Nature's ever-open book — the sheltered lake, the winding stream, the storm-swept forest — and from the legendary lore of his tribe. Tecumseh was one of the most renowned of a race of orators. The stately Algonquian language displayed its greatest beauty when spoken by him. The eloquence flowed as freely as a mighty river, or again, thundering like a cataract, it swept everything along on its tempestuous tide. Tecumseh's speech can never reach our ears; we cannot see the light flash from his hazel eye or the smile play upon his bronzed cheek. We cannot watch his graceful gestures. His personal presence we may not feel; but behind his recorded words we are still aware of a living force and power.

A Speech by Tecumseh

Tecumseh, a warrior leader of the Shawnees, was an enemy of the United States of America. His efforts to unite the Indian tribes against the American expansion westward failed. He was killed near Chatham, Ontario while fighting on the side of the British against the Americans in the War of 1812-1814. Here, he pleads with General Proctor, the English commander, not to withdraw before an American advance. The naval battle mentioned in his speech was the victory of American Commodore Perry over the British on Lake Erie, on September 10, 1813. Tecumseh died less than four weeks later.

“Father, Listen!” by Tecumseh

Father [General Proctor], listen to your children. You have them all before you. . . .

Listen! When war was declared, our father stood up and gave us the tomahawk and told us that he was then ready to strike the Americans; that he wanted our assistance; and that he would certainly get our lands back, which the Americans had taken from us.

Listen! You told us, at that time, to bring forward our families to this place; and we did so; and you promised to take care of them, and they should want for nothing, while the men would go out and fight the enemy; that we need not trouble ourselves about the enemy's garrisons; that we knew nothing about them, and that our father would attend to that part of the business. You also told your red children that you would take good care of your garrison here, which made our hearts glad.

Listen! When we were last at the

Rapids it is true we gave you little assistance. It is hard to fight people who live like groundhogs.

Father, listen! Our fleet has gone out. We know they have fought. We have heard the great guns, but we know nothing of what happened to our father with that arm. Our ships have gone one way, and we are much astonished to see our father tying up everything and preparing to run away the other, without letting his red children know what his intentions are. You always told us to remain here and take care of our lands. It made our hearts glad to hear that was your wish. Our great father, the king, is the head, and you represent him. You always told us that you would never draw your foot off British ground; but now, father, we see you are drawing back, and we are sorry to see our father doing so without seeing the enemy. We must compare our father's conduct to a fat dog, that carries its tail upon its back, but when afrighted, it drops it between its legs and runs off.

Father, listen! The Americans have not yet defeated us by land. Neither are we sure that they have done so by water. We therefore wish to remain here and fight our enemy, should they make their appearance. If they defeat us, we will then retreat with our father.

At the battle of the Rapids, in the last war, the Americans certainly defeated us, and when we retreated to our father's fort at that place the gates were shut against us. We were afraid that it would now be the case; but instead of that, we now see our British father preparing to march out of his garrison.

Father! You have got the arms and ammunition which our great father sent for his red children. If



you have an idea of going away, give them to us, and you may go. Our lives are in the hands of the Great Spirit. We are determined to defend our lands, and if it be his will, we are determined to leave our bones upon them.

W.C. Vanderwerth, ed., *Indian Oratory*
(Norman: University of Oklahoma Press,
1971).

Subsistence Economy Versus Surplus Economy

The emphasis upon group solidarity rather than on individual achievement is common in most, though not all, traditional societies. Most traditional societies exist at a subsistence level, which means that the people consume almost everything they grow, hunt, collect or produce. There are no facilities for storage and there is little incentive to save or to invest. For example, if a tribe of hunters that has never seen a refrigerator kills a caribou, it makes no sense at all to keep part of the meat for the future. It would simply rot. The idea of an individual hoard-

Land ought not to be a commodity, because like air and water it is a necessity to human existence, and all men have by birthright equal rights to its use.

Phillips Thompson

ing or saving part of the meat as his private property is even less intelligent. Not only would he face the same problems of storage but his greed might mean other people starve. In a society where everyone's labour is necessary for the good of the group, everyone must be protected by the group. To be greedy in the short-run would harm yourself in the long-run if it would weaken the people you might eventually have to depend upon.

In a subsistence economy people produce enough housing, clothing and utensils to survive. From time to time they make religious ornaments, ceremonial trappings and occasionally personal possessions that often have a spiritual meaning. Although they have not developed the concept of private property in our modern sense, most societies have an idea of personal property. Everyone knows that these shoes are "mine" or that the shirt you are wearing is "yours." However, the idea that I might own a factory or an insurance company for my own private profit and that you might work for me without earning an equal share of the profits would not occur to most traditional people. Indeed, if such a factory existed in a traditional society, it is more than possible that the people who worked longest and hardest would receive more than those whose only right to the proceeds was because they owned shares in the company.

This, of course, does not mean that everyone is equal in traditional societies. It merely means that inequalities are not based on private wealth. Such factors as sex, age and family background are much more important in determining how people should be treated.

The emphasis on private enterprise and individual wealth is only common in modern societies. It evolved as the economic system known as capitalism became widespread. In pre-capitalist society, there was little surplus. After people's basic physical needs had been met, there was little left to invest in long-term or large-scale economic production. Only recently have we begun to think in terms of private property and individual gain. In a sense the modern economic life we enjoy is only possible in a society where people have the technology to produce more than they need for day-to-day survival.

Summary

From our analysis here it is evident that there are many differences between traditional and modern societies. These differences can create serious problems for native people in Canada. To abandon the old ways completely is difficult and not always desirable. To retain the old ways is almost impossible. The third alternative, gradual adaptation, is also not easy and takes time. It involves meeting people who have very different expectations than those in tribal communities. It does not matter whether the clash of cultures comes in the fifteen century, as, for example, with the Hurons, or in the 1960s, as with some far northern Inuit people, the effects are similar and the results can be devastating.



Emily Pauline Johnson

Emily Pauline Johnson — a Mohawk, born at Chiefswood, on the Six Nations Reserve, Brantford, the home of her father, George H.M. Johnson, interpreter for the Six Nations, and her mother Emily Howells. Her native name, Tika-hionwahe — "Smoky Haze of Indian Summer" — is the translation; a governess began her education on the reservation before a school was built, and she attended Central School in Brantford. Poetry was inspiring to her even in childhood. Her public life began in Toronto at a concert arranged by the Young Liberals' Club. Pauline Johnson was called the most remarkable figure in the literary history of Canada; but finest of all she was champion of her race saying: "My pen and my life I devote to my people." Pauline Johnson was called poet, princess and patriot. She was a pioneer in race relations, for the whole of Canada was for her a concert stage. She was acclaimed in Britain as the writer most representative of Canada. Today her works are still enjoyed. For her centennial a commemorative stamp was issued by the Canadian government to honour this woman of the Mohawks.

I consider that the culture of the North-west Indians produced an art on a par with that of Greece or Egypt.
Claude Levi-Strauss

Cultural Contact and Human Conflict

Perhaps the feature that best describes modern society is its dynamism. Change is at the heart of modernity whereas stability is the root of a traditional culture. When the two come together, an “irresistible force” meets an “immovable object.” Unfortunately for those who prefer a traditional way of life, it is the immovable object that is usually shattered in such a confrontation.

The Value of Trade

It should be remembered, that, at least in the beginning, the native peoples of Canada did not try to avoid relations with white society. When a tribe encountered a white expedition that appeared friendly, the native people often encouraged contact. The whites, after all, had many useful implements that native people lost no time in adapting to their needs. One of Canada’s most famous explorers, Jacques Cartier, left this account of the Indians’ eagerness to meet the whites.

Jacques Cartier Meets the Native People, 1534

... And at once they came over in a crowd in their canoes to the side where we were, bringing furs and whatever else they possessed, in order to obtain some of our wares. They numbered, both men, women and children, more than 300 persons. Some of their women, who did not come over, danced and sang, standing in the water up to their knees. The other women, who

had come over to the side where we were, advanced freely towards us and rubbed our arms with their hands. Then they joined their hands together and raised them to heaven, exhibiting many signs of joy. And so much at ease did the savages feel in our presence, that at length we bartered with them, hand to hand, for everything they possessed, so that nothing was left to them but their naked bodies; for they offered us everything they owned, which was, all told, of little value. We perceived that they are people who would be easy to convert, who go from place to place maintaining themselves and catching fish in the fishing-season for food.

Trading for Trinkets

... During that time there arrived a large number of savages, who had come to the river [Gaspé basin] to fish for mackerel of which there is great abundance. They [the savages] numbered, including men, women and children, more than 300 persons, with some forty canoes. When they had mixed with us a little on shore, they came freely in their canoes to the sides of our vessels. We gave them knives, glass beads, combs and other trinkets of small value, at which they showed many signs of joy, lifting up their hands to heaven and singing and dancing in their canoes.

The Appearance of Savages

This people may well be called savage; for they are the sorriest folk there can be in the world, and the whole lot of them had not anything above the value of five sous, their canoes and fishing nets excepted. They go quite naked, except for a small skin, with which they cover their privy parts, and for a few

old furs which they throw over their shoulders. They are not at all of the same race or language as the first we met. They have their heads shaved all around in circles, except for a tuft on the top of the head, which they leave long like a horse’s tail. This they do up upon their heads and tie in a knot with leather thongs. They have no other dwelling but their canoes, which they turn upside down and sleep on the ground underneath. They eat their meat almost raw, only warming it a little on the coals; and the same with their fish.

Agricultural Activities

They are by no means a laborious people and work the soil with short bits of wood about half a sword in length. With these they hoe their corn which they call *ozisy*, in size as large as a pea. Corn of a similar kind grows in considerable quantities in Brazil. They have also a considerable quantity of melons, cucumbers, pumpkins, peas and beans of various colours and unlike our own.

Learning to Smoke

Furthermore they have a plant, of which a large supply is collected in summer for the winter’s consumption.

They hold it in high esteem, though the men alone make use of it in the following manner. After drying it in the sun, they carry it about their necks in a small skin pouch in lieu of a bag, together with a hollow bit of stone or wood. Then at frequent intervals they crumble this plant into powder, which they place in one of the openings of the hollow instrument, and laying a live coal on top, suck at the other end to such an extent, that they fill their bodies

so full of smoke, that it streams out of their mouths and nostrils as from a chimney. They say it keeps them warm and in good health, and never go about without these things. We made a trial of this smoke. When it is in one's mouth, one would think one had taken powdered pepper, it is so hot.

Women's Work

The women of this country work beyond comparison more than the men, both at fishing, which is much followed, as well as at tilling the ground and other tasks.

Winter Life

Both the men, women and children are more indifferent to the cold than beasts; for in the coldest weather we experienced, and it was extraordinary severe, they would come to our ships every day across the ice and snow, the majority of them almost stark naked, which seems incredible unless one has seen them. While the ice and snow last, they catch a great number of wild animals such as fawns, stags and bears, hares, martens, foxes, otters and others.

The Europeans brought guns and ammunition which were useful for hunting. They also traded in metal knives, axes and copper pots. These were particularly valued by the natives since they made work easier. For example, in the cold of winter, native people had to hollow out a hardwood log to cook in. As the log was extremely heavy and hard to move, campsites were changed only when absolutely necessary. With lighter copper pots for cooking, however, the native people could travel about more freely in search of game.



The Beaver Trade

The main reason for the Europeans' explorations in North America at this time was the growing demand in Europe for beaver skins. To the native people the beavers were a rather useless mistake of nature. At best they were harmless and at worst (which was often) they dammed up rivers and stopped the fish swimming downstream. They turned much of the wilderness into swamp and the native people were only too happy to get rid of the little pests.

The fact that Europeans coveted the animals to make fashionable hats was of little concern to the natives. The important thing to them was the thriving trade. The problem was that as soon as an area had been hunted long enough to reduce the yield of beaver pelts, the Europeans would move on and begin trading with another tribe, preferably in the North where the cold weather ensured higher quality furs. Step by step, each native tribe was brought willingly into the fur trade and then, when trading was no longer profita-

ble for the Europeans, the tribe was abandoned and another one was recruited. In the meantime, the native peoples had grown dependent on the trade and the white man's goods. The old ways of hunting without metal traps and guns were lost. In the wake of an expanding fur trading empire lay a succession of native tribes whose traditional way of life had been disrupted.

The Europeans did not trick the native people into trading and becoming dependent on white society. The tragedy is that the native people welcomed the benefits of trading with the whites but did not realize what would happen to them in the long run when their labour and their trade was no longer profitable to the Europeans.

The fur trade was a simplified form of market society. In any such society a group benefits from the trade system only as long as it can contribute to it. When a group is no longer useful, it is cast aside. As the beavers were eliminated in the east, the Europeans moved west and then north with no thought for the now destitute native people. Much as automation poses a serious threat to both unskilled and skilled workers in our society, so the destruction of the beaver threatened the prosperity of native people. There were, of course, differences in the tribes' experiences. At worst, their fate was that of the Beothuk. At best, they were fairly well integrated into the white community and enjoyed a measure of prosperity even to the present day. Despite the best intentions of all involved, most groups of native people were left without their land, their culture and their self-respect.

Where the Native Peoples Lived

Indians of the Northwest Territories

Indians who lived this far north depended for their livelihood on their ability to find and kill game and on the sturdy canoes and toboggans they used in their long hunts. Their lives normally centred on a home lake or river from which they would travel in search of game.

Northwest Territories



The Indians of the Eastern Woodlands

The Algonkian-speaking tribes of the eastern woodlands were a nomadic people. They hunted and fished, depending on the season, and occasionally kept small farms.

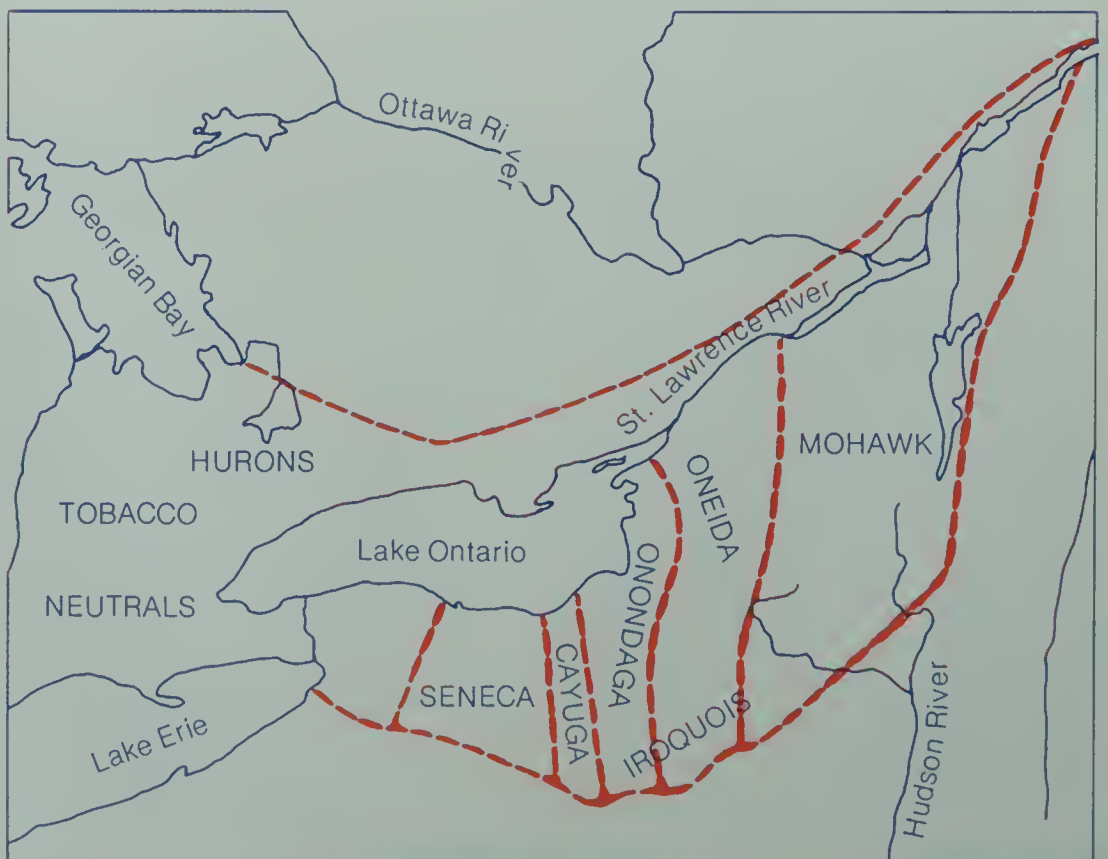
Eastern Woodlands



The Iroquoian Tribes

The Iroquoian peoples practised agriculture and lived in relatively stable communities. Their long houses sheltered several families and as many as 100 houses could be found in villages protected by wooden stockades. Their sophisticated political league and their spirit of cooperation impressed many Europeans.

Iroquoians



In Eskimo the word to make poetry is
the word to breathe; both are derivative
of *anerca*, the soul, that which is
eternal; the breath of life.

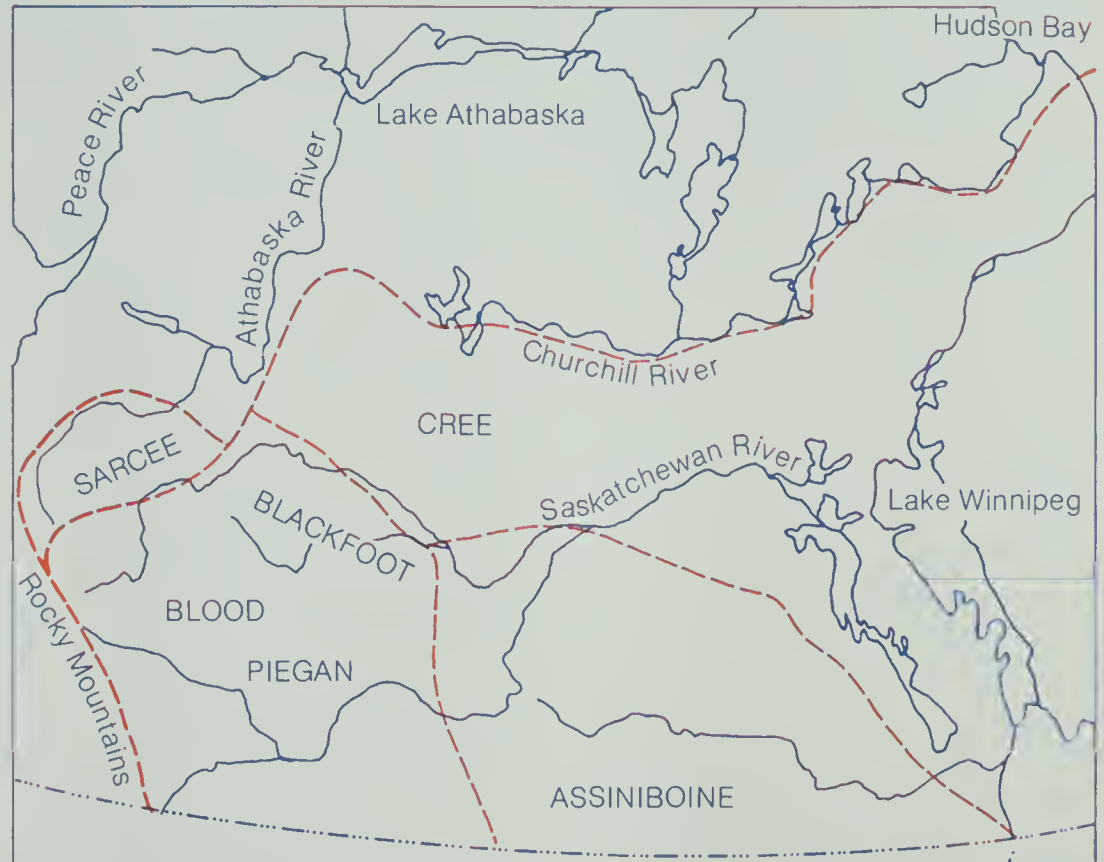
Edmund Carpenter

The Plains Indians

The Plains Indians were nomadic hunters whose lives were dominated by the constant search for game. Their main source of food, clothing, utensils and lodging (the famous tipi) was the buffalo.

Although warfare was important to the Plains Indians, the main reason for war was so that young warriors could prove themselves. They did not seek to kill their enemy but merely to touch an enemy during battle and escape unharmed.

Plains Indians



The Inuit

Living largely on the shore of the Arctic Ocean, the Inuit hunted sea animals as well as caribou. The Inuit lived in the harshest conditions of all native peoples yet they developed a technology that enabled them to survive. Traditional enemies of the Indians to the south, the Inuit developed a unique culture that set them apart from most native Canadians.

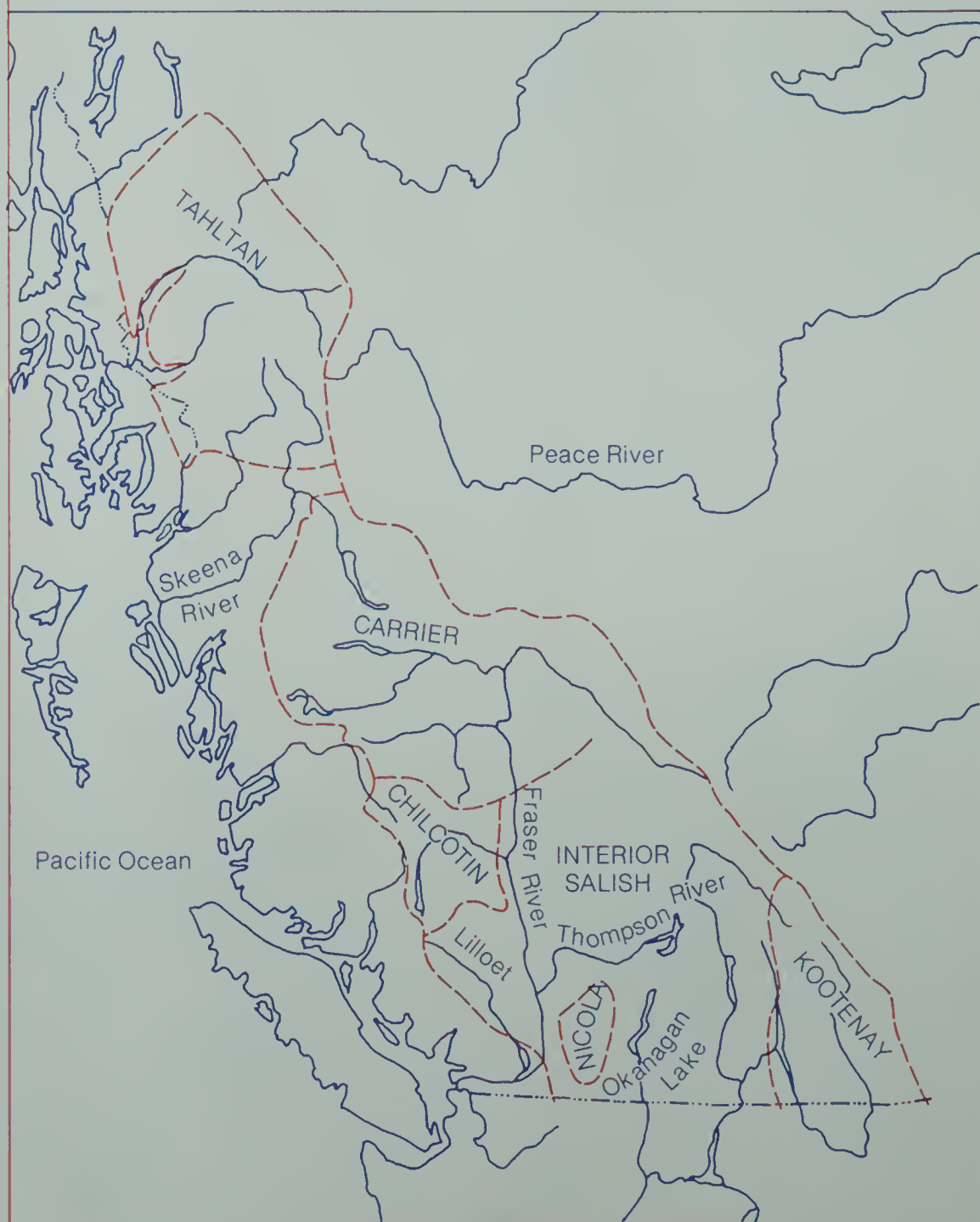
Inuit



The Indians of Interior British Columbia

The Indians of the interior plateau in British Columbia were a more sedentary people. They lived largely by fishing, especially for salmon, and developed such crafts as weaving mats and baskets for trading with nearby peoples.

Interior B.C.



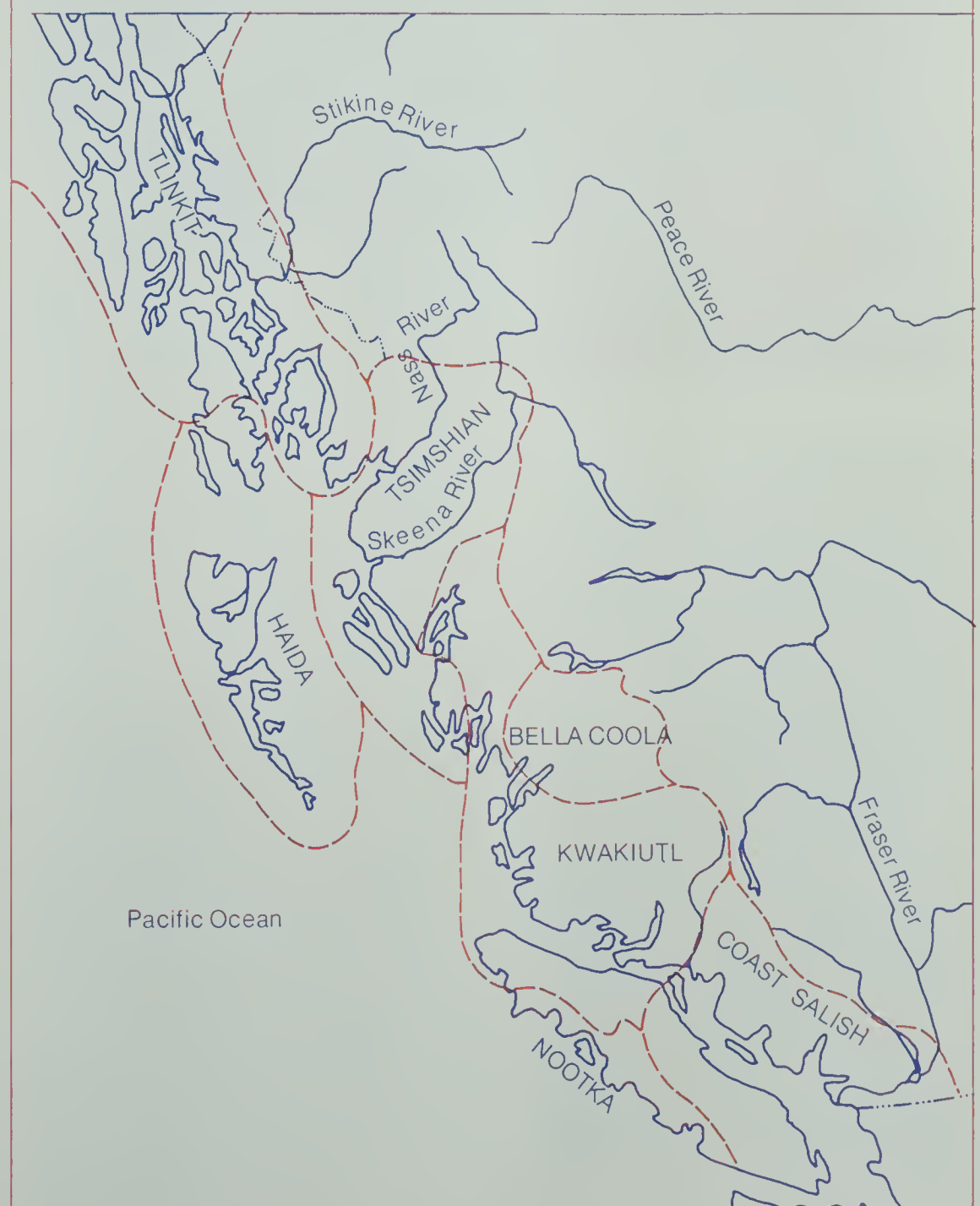
May this earth here never see the white man's blood spilt on it. I thank God that we stand together, that you all see us; I am thankful that I can raise up my head, and the white man and the red man can stand together as long as the sun shines.

Sweet Grass,
Cree chief, 1876

Indians of the Pacific Coast

Renowned for their skill at deep-sea fishing and making canoes capable of ocean travel, the people of the Pacific Coast were also remarkable for their artifacts. They fashioned the famous totem poles and developed one of the few economies that moved from mere subsistence living to the production of surplus wealth.

West Coast



Have pity on the poor Indians— if you can get any influence with the great, endeavour to do them all the good you can.

*Joseph Brant's last words,
1807*



Joseph Brant

Joseph Brant, Mohawk. Thayendanegea, his tribal name which translated means: "He holds the bets." School for him was the stern training of the warrior and a mission school at Fort Hunter in the ancient land of the Mohawks in New York State. The first battle for Thayendanegea came when he was thirteen at Lake George when the English and French continued their old feuds over new territory. Later he had some years at the Eleazer Wheelock School which today is Dartmouth College. His people of the Longhouse were in the middle of the turbulence which grew into the American Revolution. Some historians show him as a perpetrator of massacres but from verified record he was a humane cultured man of his time. Today's writers note him as a leader trying to keep his people together, saying he held to their tribal belief of social responsibility. His great hope was for independence and freedom for the Longhouse People.

Three Case Studies

Because of our modern values, it is difficult for us to understand fully the characteristics of a traditional culture. To try and understand the cultures of all the various tribes in Canada today would take many years. We are, therefore, going to limit our discussion to only three groups of native people, and we will deal with only one aspect of the culture of each of the three. First, we will examine the relationship between religion and survival among the Montagnais-Naskapi. Secondly, we will try to understand some of the methods of social control that were essential to the survival of many Plains Indian communities. Finally, we will look at the Kwakiutls of British Columbia to find out what kind of society developed when native people had an abundant supply of natural resources. We will also discover how white people misunderstood the one native culture that most closely resembled their own.

The Importance of Religion

In many traditional societies, including native Canadian tribes, the religious aspect of life assumes great importance. For the native people, the Great Spirit is ever present. All life is precious. The woods, the meadows, the animals and even the stones in a river bed have spiritual meaning and importance. The native people respect nature and try to conserve it. Modern society is frequently indifferent to nature and even sees it as hostile. We have often heard the phrase, "the conquest of nature." Such an idea is unthinkable to native people. To

wish to conquer nature would be an act of defiance against the Great Spirit — it would be a sin.

In the following case study, we hope to show one way in which native society differs from our own. Religious influence in the caribou hunt illustrates how people can have a way of understanding that is not scientific yet can be very successful.

Religion in Daily Life

The Montagnais-Naskapi Indians lived, and still live, in northeastern Quebec and Labrador. They were a nomadic hunting people before the whites came to their territory. During the warm summers they gathered in large, though temporary, communities. They fished and gathered whatever vegetation was available from the forest. During the winter, however, they split up into small family groups and scattered over the cold terrain. Their primary source of food and clothing during the winter season was the caribou.

Like most traditional societies, the Montagnais-Naskapi were a highly religious people. Their beliefs were similar to those of many tribal societies. They believed that all nature was of spiritual importance. Every aspect of the natural world had a meaning greater than its mere physical existence. In contrast, modern society has tended to eliminate most spirituality from daily living. Though many of us retain religious convictions, we do not see the entire world as having religious meaning. We tend to place the human soul at the centre and to believe in a personal God who offers salvation to people, depending on the virtues they show in their life on earth. The question of the spiritual nature of the earth itself is seldom raised.

The carvings of the Inuit show both artistry and a respect for nature.

Reverence for Nature

For the native people, however, the personal God of the Christian tradition was unknown. They felt a reverence for all creation. There are very important reasons for this. The economic condition of the native people was normally precarious.

Finding enough to eat during the winter and surviving in the inhospitable Canadian climate was always a life and death struggle. Because of this, the native people used everything that was available and wasted nothing. The caribou was used not merely for food but for making most other necessities of life, including clothing and tipis from the hide and tools from the bones.

Since they were so dependent on nature, the native people brought animal spirits into their religion. It was generally believed that not only human beings but all creatures had a soul. Human beings were superior in wit and skill to the other animals but this superiority did not lead the native people to believe that mankind had total dominion over the earth. They did not believe that man was in a constant struggle with an impersonal and often cruel environment. Whereas Europeans tried to conquer nature, the native people tried to live in harmony with it. The natives may have hunted and killed the animals for their survival but they did not do so for sport. The animals that were hunted were treated with respect, for the native people well knew that if it were not for the willingness of the animals to sacrifice themselves to sustain human life, then men would perish.

In recent years, many Canadians have come to condemn industrial pollution and are prepared to acknowledge that the native people's attitudes towards nature should be



admired and respected. They are reminders of our own over-indulgence. What many people do not fully understand is that the religious values and practices of the native people were also practical strategies for living in an often hostile environment.

The Caribou Hunt

A description of the hunting practices of the Montagnais-Naskapi will not give a complete picture of native religion or culture. But a brief look at this aspect of native society will help to illustrate the complex relationships that we have discussed.

As the native people wandered over much of eastern Canada in search of caribou, they crossed territory that had become familiar to them. In good seasons, it was relatively easy to find and keep up with the herds and to kill just enough caribou to feed themselves. However, in very bad winters the caribou herds were often hard to find. This caused great hardship and in times of crisis the people performed an interesting religious ritual.

The caribou, like all animals,

were believed to possess spirits. The spirit of each caribou was found in its shoulder blade. The natives therefore kept the shoulder blade of the dead caribou to imprison the spirit of the animal. When times were bad, the people built a fire and held the caribou bone over it. In due course, the shoulder blade would crack in the heat and the spirit escaped. They believed the spirit of the dead caribou was eager to join its living companions in the herd. When it broke from the inside of the blade the direction of the crack revealed the direction of the nearest caribou herd. The people then made off quickly in whichever direction the crack indicated.

A Modern View

A researcher at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology became intrigued by this problem and used the immense computer facilities at MIT to find an answer. He fed into the computer all the information he could find about the topography of the area, the migration patterns of the caribou herd and all other information that he thought might be re-

There was no iron used in Red River carts. The frame was held together with wooden pegs. The tires were bound round with strips of "shagannappi," raw, fresh skin of buffalo or cattle, which as it dried, shrank and held them tightly, forming a hard and durable rim. These carts followed the Métis hunting parties and carried the meat of the slain buffalo. They were also employed in

transporting freight. Sometimes they were fitted with a round-topped hood of hide or canvas.

levant. He then asked the computer what the proper hunting strategy would be. The computer replied instantly — random behaviour.

When faced with a crisis, people tend to repeat actions that brought success in the past. If the native people were deprived of caribou, they would normally go to areas in which the caribou had been plentiful before. Caribou, on the other hand, might just as easily avoid areas where they had been successfully hunted. In this way, the hunter would miss the hunted until the hunters had starved. In order to ensure survival, the native people had to escape the trap of habit and develop a way to randomize their behaviour. This was done through the ritual of the shoulder blade.

The Approaches Compared

It is not suggested that the native people knew what they were doing in the sense that they consciously decided to randomize their hunting patterns and experiment with new tactics. They no doubt believed in the magic or religious ideas that lay behind their custom. However, what must be stressed is that there was a certain logic to the practice that the native people probably did not understand. In our society, we look to logic first, of course, and deny religious explanations such as miracles. This is a result of the faith we have learned to place in science and technology. However, the native people placed just as much faith in their spiritual ideas. The interesting thing is that the rituals of the native people kept them in harmony with nature. On the other hand, our technology has many bad side-effects such as polluted air and water.

In view of this we might wonder whether traditional or modern



society is indeed more rational. This is especially important when we consider our current attitudes towards scientific technology. The optimists among us are convinced that the answer to our problems are to be found in more and more scientific inventiveness. The pessimists suggest that this is similar to saying that the solutions to our problems are to be found in repeating past mistakes.

How Native People Kept Order

In this article, Ralph V. Barrett discusses the question of social control among one group of native people, the tribes of the Western plains. His description and analysis should provide the basis for a comparison between traditional society and our own.

The Constitution of the Iroquois Confederacy under which the Iroquois lived for four hundred years and are still living today — And what a wonderful constitution it is — No soldiers, no gendarmes or police, no nobles, kings, regents, prefectism or judges, no prisons, or lawsuits — and everything takes its orderly course

Friedrich Engels, 1888

Social Control and the Buffalo Hunt by Ralph V. Barrett

The Importance of the Buffalo

The Plains Indians depended on the buffalo for their survival. The buffalo was the basis of their economy and social structure. Buffalo hides provided the Indians with their clothing and shelter (the tipis). Tools and weapons were also made from their bones. During the winter months, pemmican (dried buffalo meat) was an important source of food. Most of the arts and technology of the Plains Indians, for example, the bow and arrow, were also connected directly or indirectly with the buffalo hunt. Social status, religious rituals and social groups were similarly dependent on the buffalo. A person was honoured according to his hunting skills. Religious festivals centred on the beginning and end of the hunt. The major occasion when the tribe came together for any common purpose was at the time of the hunt.

Community Organization

Plains Indians organized themselves into bands made up of several individual families. Leadership was usually informal. There was no dominant group that exercised control over the band. In times of crisis, men who were known to be brave were called upon to give advice or to lead the group out of danger. When the crisis was over, the men who had emerged to lead faded back into their regular role in the community.

During the summer buffalo hunt when many bands came together, a representative from each group was chosen to be a spokesman in the organization of communal activities. The representatives of the various

bands made up the tribal council. This body regulated camp life and punished individuals for breaking the rules that governed the communal buffalo hunt.

Keeping Order

There are many different versions of what Indian life was really like. One of the most controversial topics today is the question of social control in native society. (Social control is defined as the restrictions on unacceptable behaviour.) The Indians did not generally have an organized police force and they certainly did not have any jails or mental institutions to protect society from social deviants. There were no written laws and there is little evidence of capital punishment for offenses committed by members of a tribe. Certainly their concept of social control was very different from our own.

Today, some people are examining native customs for possible insights into the ways in which modern Canada might deal with the problem of social control. It is frequently noted that a higher proportion of people in Canada are in jails and mental institutions than in many other Western nations. Perhaps the native people had more efficient methods for controlling deviant behaviour than we do. On the other hand, perhaps their methods would not fit in with our values of individual liberty and personal responsibility.

Punishment and Rehabilitation

The buffalo hunt required strict discipline in the entire community. Any person who threatened the success of the hunt had to be dealt with severely. Among the actions that were punishable, one of the most serious was leaving camp without permission. To wander off alone

was dangerous to the group because one might come across the buffalo herd and accidentally cause it to stampede. Frequently the offender would be temporarily stripped of the necessary equipment for survival (bows and arrows, buffalo robe, etc.). If the offender reformed he was considered rehabilitated and his equipment was returned to him. The purpose of such punishment was not revenge but conformity to the rules of the tribe. Every effort was made to bring offenders back into society. Punishment was inflicted not for its own sake but in order to make sure everyone conformed to tribal regulations and helped preserve the group. In every case, the severity of the punishment was directly related to the seriousness of the offense.

Of course, punishment and rehabilitation was not the only method of social control. In their society as in any small society (a small town, village, or even your school), public behaviour is constantly on display. We are usually well-known and frequently observed by all our neighbours and peers. In modern society, however, we believe in personal privacy and often have a special place where we can go to be by ourselves. In traditional societies, this emphasis on personal privacy was almost unheard of. Everyone was constantly being observed by everyone else. In such a situation, social control develops without any formal organizations such as a police force. People were discouraged from breaking tribal rules and were encouraged to conform to accepted standards of behaviour through public ridicule for errors and well-organized occasions for public rewards.

Public Ridicule

Among the Blackfoot, for example, the following procedure was used:

For mild persistent misconduct, a method of formal ridicule is sometimes practiced. When the offender has failed to take hints or suggestions, the head men may take formal notice and decide to resort to discipline. Some evening, when all are in their tipis, a head man will call out to a neighbor asking if he has observed the conduct of Mr. A. This starts a general conversation between the many tipis, in which all the grotesque and hideous features of Mr. A.'s acts are held up to general ridicule and shrieks of laughter, the grilling continues far into the night.

There is little formal authority in this process. However, the informal nature of the discipline in no way reduced its effectiveness.

Public Praise

Since the buffalo hunt was central to the livelihood and culture of the Plains Indians, it was important to encourage skill and bravery in all members of the tribe. To do so, ceremonies took place in which people were publicly congratulated for bravery, skill or cunning. One of the most interesting examples of this custom was the practice of "counting coups." Anyone, both men and women, was permitted the privilege of relating "in public those meritorious deeds which he or she had done. The term coups [blows] has come to be applied to these public recitals because it was customary after reciting a worthy performance to strike, or have struck for you, a blow on a drum, a post, or other object."

Because it was difficult to per-

form a worthy deed without being observed by others, it was important not to exaggerate or colour the facts. If a person lied or exaggerated the worth of the reported deed a challenge could be issued. If proven guilty of deception, the person seeking honour was mocked. In all such activities, the approval or disapproval of the tribe was most important. A person who was consistently brave and skillful could show great pride. On the other hand, the shame and ridicule for a misdeed was far greater than in our society. Moreover, the Plains Indians often reversed the treatment. If someone's behaviour changed, they would pour a greater measure of scorn on him than they had given of praise. This happened in the case of a distinguished warrior who had attained the highest mark of prestige in his tribe. When he became a Christian and cut his hair short, he was mocked and rejected by those who had once honoured him. As he passed through the village going to work, he was laughed at, and the children often said, "There goes the man who has made himself a woman." The men who had honoured him before now avoided him and did not call him to their feasts any more.

In all societies the approval of one's neighbours is important, but in native society it is crucial. The worst form of punishment in such societies is not death but banishment from the tribe. To be expelled from one's tribe is not only to have one's chances of survival severely limited but to lose one's identity, one's sense of worth and one's humanity.

Summary

In modern society, social control is normally achieved in both formal

and informal ways. Native people had no jails and no police force in the sense that we think of them. The fact that people were constantly exposed to examination and evaluation by others was enough to keep them from disobeying rules. Our society allows people to have privacy. This may be regarded as a mixed blessing. It allows us time to ourselves but it also means we can be lonely. It guarantees us many individual liberties but it also encourages some of us to contemplate and often commit crimes. There are obviously benefits and costs with each style of life.

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Misunderstanding Native Culture

The Kwakiutl Potlatch

In this section we will describe one aspect of the life of the Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia. By examining the potlatch ceremony we do not expect to give an accurate general impression of the Kwakiutls. It will, however, give an example of what happens when white anthropologists attempt to analyze a society they are unfamiliar with. The results of their studies, however well-intentioned, may be harmful in two ways. First, they may lead to a destruction of a valuable part of native culture. Second, they may give a false and misleading picture of the native society and cause further prejudice against the Indians.

A Prosperous People

It is important to begin this discussion with a short description of the Kwakiutls and the natural environment in which they live. The Kwakiutls inhabit the coastal regions at the north end of Vancouver Island

These totem poles are typical of the work of West Coast Indians.

and on the mainland facing it. The waters normally provide large quantities of fish and the Kwakiutls became very skilled at fishing. They also built huge wooden canoes that went far out into the Pacific Ocean. There is some evidence that either the Kwakiutls or similar West Coast Indians actually travelled as far as Hawaii in their vessels.

The Kwakiutls did not survive simply by fishing. The mountains around their villages provided berries and nuts which the women gathered to supplement their diet. In addition, they occasionally hunted animals such as great mountain sheep. Nevertheless, the abundant sea was the heart of the Kwakiutl economy.

The Kwakiutls were prosperous enough that they did not have to spend all their time seeking food and shelter. They had time to turn their hand to other crafts including carving totem poles. Among the many impressive totem poles for which West Coast Indians are famous are fine examples of the Kwakiutls' skill.

Because of the unusually abundant natural resources of the Kwakiutl people, the white anthropologists who came in contact with them were surprised that, at times, they behaved in a rather brutal manner. Among the people who studied the Kwakiutls most closely was an American scientist named Ruth Benedict. Ms. Benedict was a well-trained student of pre-industrial societies. She was justly famous for her brilliant studies of Japan and for her theoretical work as well. In fact, many people consider her work, *Patterns of Culture*, to be among the outstanding masterpieces of twentieth-century social science. Still, it is in this famous book that Ms.



Benedict deals extensively with the Kwakiutls and it is her treatment of them that will be criticized here.

The Potlatch Ceremony

The potlatch and other Kwakiutl ceremonies must have disturbed the Europeans who observed or heard

about them. The potlatch itself was a ceremony in which leaders of various tribal groups would compete in a form of economic warfare. Each chief would assemble as much wealth as he could and compete with other chiefs in a ritual destruction or giving away of property. The

Possession of wealth is considered honourable, and it is the endeavour of each Indian to acquire a fortune. But it is not as much the possession of wealth as the ability to give great festivals which make wealth a desirable object to the Indian.

Franz Boas

chief who had destroyed or given away the most wealth was the winner and was given the greatest prestige. The chiefs who received more than they gave away were humiliated and forced to go back to their family (*numaym*) members and exhort them to create more wealth before the next potlatch so that the chief's honour could be restored.

The Potlatch by Franz Boas

The rivalry between chiefs and clans finds its strongest expression in the destruction of property. A chief will burn blankets, a canoe, or break a copper, thus indicating his disregard of the amount of property destroyed and showing that his mind is stronger, his power greater, than that of his rival. If the latter is not able to destroy an equal amount of property without much delay, his name is "broken." He is vanquished by his rival and his influence with his tribe is lost, while the name of the other chief gains correspondingly in renown.

Feasts may also be counted as destruction of property, because the food given can not be returned except by giving another feast. The most expensive sort of feast is the one at which enormous quantities of fish oil (made of the *oulachon*) are consumed and burnt, the so-called "grease feast." Therefore it also raises the name of the person who can afford to give it, and the neglect to speedily return it entails a severe loss of prestige. Still more feared is the breaking of a valuable copper. A chief may break his copper and give the broken parts to his rival. If the latter wants to keep his prestige, he must break a copper of equal or higher value, and then return both

his own broken copper and the fragments which he has received to his rival. The latter may then pay for the copper which he has thus received. The chief to whom the fragments of the first copper are given may, however, also break his copper and throw both into the sea. The Indians consider that by this act the attacked rival has shown himself superior to his aggressor, because the latter may have expected to receive the broken copper of his rival in return so that an actual loss would have been prevented.

As soon as they could, European authorities took steps to banish all customs that seemed barbaric. What the authorities failed to understand was that the Kwakiutls' excessive destruction of property and unusual preoccupation with greatness were, in part, a consequence of European contact itself.

Early Potlatching

Potlatching had existed in pre-contact days but it is probable that it was a rather modest activity which has been overstated by more recent generations. One observer stated:

Considering that the Kwakiutl concept of greatness in potlatching was greatness in the quantity of property distributed, it is unlikely that a Kwakiutl would ever minimize a potlatch given by one of his own ancestors, since in doing so he would be minimizing the greatness of his own potlatch position and name. Therefore, the historical reconstruction which shows relatively small potlatches for early times is no doubt correct.

The Influence of the Europeans

The excessive potlatches that Ruth Benedict and others analyzed seem

to have developed from European influences. In the first place, it was only with the coming of the English that European-made blankets were introduced as a standard unit of exchange (money). Secondly, the Europeans tried to suppress warfare and banned slavery. This meant that the exchange of slaves in the potlatch was forbidden and people's attention was turned to the more destructive activities. Finally, the spread of disease brought from Europe during the 1830s left many traditional honours and titles vacant because of the deaths of many important members of the community. New deeds of greatness were needed to fill the positions in the tribal ranking system.

Banning the Potlatch

It was the excessive behaviour at the mid-nineteenth century potlatches that led to their abolition by the white administration. Under the leadership of a missionary, the Rev. A. Hull, a movement to outlaw the potlatch was successful. However, the potlatch itself continued. It is estimated, for example, that the number of blankets used in illegal potlatches grew from 9000 in the years 1849-1869 to 18 000 between 1890-1909 and as many as 35 000 in the years 1930-1949. Not only did the potlatch continue but the native people made continual efforts to have the anti-potlatch law repealed.

In 1884 Parliament ruled that "Every Indian or other person who engages in or assists in celebrating the Indian festival known as the potlatch . . . is guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be liable to imprisonment for a term of not more than six months and not less than two months."

In 1887 a group of 24 West Coast Indians from the area where the potlatch was common replied:

We the undersigned Indians of the Cowichan agency beg respectfully to ask you to use your influence to have the clause of the Indian Act forbidding the "Potlach" and "Tamanawas" Dances repealed.

In asking this we would point out that these are two of our oldest customs, and by them we do not injure anyone.

We cannot read like white people and the dances are our winter amusements.

When our children grow up and are educated they perhaps will not wish to dance.

Some only of us dance now, and we do not wish to teach others, but when one is seized with the ("Quellish") dance he cannot help himself and we believe would die unless he danced. On Saturdays and Sundays we will not dance as this offends the Christian Indians.

The lands of our fathers are occupied by white men and we say nothing.

We have given up fighting with each other.

We have given up stealing and many old habits, but we want to be allowed to continue the "Potlach" and the Dance. We know the hearts of most of the Coast Indians are with us in this. We therefore ask you to have the law amended, that we may not be breaking it when we follow customs that are dear to us.

The law was eventually repealed — but not until 1951. In the meantime, the offending ceremony was interpreted by people who often had not seen it first-hand and who did

not judge it by the historical necessities of Kwakiutl life, but by white morality.

The Psychological Analysis

Ms. Benedict was so surprised by the reports she heard of the Kwakiutls' behaviour that she considered the Kwakiutl must be a sick people. She even went so far as to apply concepts of modern psychiatry to them. Their entire culture, she declared, was "mentally ill." It was a prime example of "paranoid megalomania." In simple terms, this is a form of mental illness characterized by a neurotic fear and distrust of everyone and everything around one combined with an overwhelming desire for power.

This conclusion was reported in her work and was widely accepted until recent inquiries were made into the culture of the Kwakiutls and new conclusions were brought forward.

There are two specific criticisms that might be levelled at Benedict's analysis. The first is that she failed to understand the reasons why the Kwakiutl acted the way they did. The second is that she remained blind to behaviour in our own society that comes close to the activities of the Kwakiutl. If theirs was a sick society, we can ask if ours is any more healthy.

The Importance of the Potlatch

Let us first try to see what was really going on in the potlatch ceremony. After all, to say that people are mentally ill because they behave strangely is not much of an explanation; it is merely another way of saying the same thing. It is more helpful to ask why they behaved as they did.

An Alternative to War

First, the potlatch is an alternative to war. For centuries Europeans have sorted out their disagreements

by raising armies and doing battle with one another. Compared to a few thousand years of such behaviour, the Kwakiutl notion of economic warfare does not seem altogether barbaric.

A Welfare System

Secondly, it was a sophisticated, if unconscious, welfare system. People who did well and enabled their chief to be victorious at the potlatch gained prestige in the community. People who were less wealthy lost prestige but gained part of the economic wealth of the winners. Although their chief was humiliated, they survived. Moreover, they survived and were at the same time encouraged to work harder and be more productive lest the prestige of their chief dwindle further. The total effect was a redistribution of wealth to those who needed it and those who were particularly clever or industrious were rewarded with high social status.

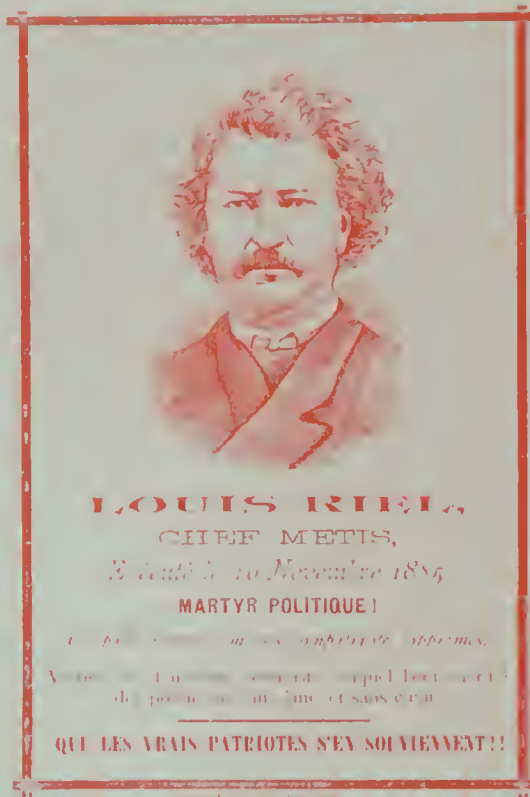
The Ranking System

Thirdly, the potlatch supported and reaffirmed the ranking system that seems to have been so important to this, as well as to other societies that develop a surplus. We may regret that such hierarchies develop but there appears to be no more evil in Kwakiutl life than in the Court of Louis XVI of France or in the industrial slums of nineteenth-century England.

In short, the potlatch was functional to the Kwakiutl society. It should not be regarded as particularly virtuous but neither should it be disdained — especially by members of a society that permitted child labour in the mines. The outlawing of the potlatch and the consistently disapproving manner in which it has been treated by Canadian and American scholars demonstrates

The Métis Struggle

In describing the life of Riel, we will give a glimpse of the impossible situation faced by a people when they come face to face with overwhelming numbers and power. In many ways Riel may be unrepresentative of a minority people. His religious fanaticism, his personal state of mind and the controversy that has clouded the facts of his life all make him unique. Nevertheless, he is a hero to certain minority groups. Some aspects of his life are important to an understanding of the frustrations of the minority he led. It was these frustrations that led to two separate rebellions.



The passionate disagreements about Riel and his followers often seem to be more important than the cause for which he fought and died. But it is that cause which interests us here.

Harrassment of the settlers continued for a time and, in 1816, the Métis, led by a part-Scot named Cuthbert Grant, killed 21 settlers and Hudson's Bay men including the Governor, Robert Semple. But gradually the Métis grew to accept the settlers while at the same time maintaining their independent way of life. The authorities still continued to interfere with their buffalo hunting and trading. The Hudson's Bay Company, which was in effect the law in the area, prevented them from trading with anyone but the Company. They were denied any political rights and were not allowed

These people are not rebels, but they
are demanding justice

*Inspector Walsh,
North West Mounted Police,
1883*

to sit on the Council of Assiniboia which had been established by the Hudson's Bay Company to administer the area.

In 1850, a Métis named William Sayer was brought to trial for illegally trading in furs. At his trial, he urged the Métis to arm themselves and fight for their rights. About 400 of them arrived at the Court House fully armed. Although Sayer had been convicted he was released. This was the beginning of the confrontation that was to lead to open rebellion.

The Transfer of Rupert's Land

The occasion of the first rebellion was the transfer of the area known as Rupert's Land from the control of the Hudson's Bay Company to the newly formed Dominion of Canada. Negotiations proceeded between the Company and the government but the Métis were excluded. The Métis were very disturbed when surveyors arrived and started surveying the area. The Métis felt that their property rights would not be respected. Louis Riel and about 18 of his followers appeared on the farm of André Nault, Riel's cousin, and stopped the English-speaking officials from carrying on with their work. As Hartwell Bowsfield observed,

the stopping of the surveys was the first act of resistance to Canada's acquisition of the Northwest. It also revealed to the Métis people that in Louis Riel they had found a champion — someone who would speak for them and was prepared to defend their rights and ensure their survival.

Riel became secretary of an organization known as the National Committee of the Métis of Red River. The organization with Riel as leader prevented William McDougall, who had been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Northwest, from entering the territory.

The Provisional Government

Riel affirmed that he and his people were loyal subjects of the Crown but that they had to object about the transfer of the territory to Canada. They were satisfied with the administration of the Hudson's Bay Company and desired no other. It soon became clear, however, that joining the Dominion was inevitable. On December 1st, 1869, the Queen's Proclamation that Rupert's Land was part of Canada was to take effect. McDougall hesitated, however, and on December 7, 1869, Louis Riel announced the creation of a provisional government. This government would begin negotiations with Ottawa about the terms under which the territory would join the Dominion.

On December 27, Sir John A. Macdonald, the Canadian Prime Minister, sent an emissary, Donald Smith, to meet with Riel. Meetings were arranged for January 19 and January 20, 1870 when Smith would explain to the Métis people the position of the Canadian government. Smith succeeded in calming the Métis and appeared to put their fears to rest.

Negotiations and Violence

Negotiations, however, dragged on through January and February. A number of incidents occurred and in one a settler, Hugh Sutherland, and a Métis, Norbert Parisien, were

killed. At about that time, a group of English-speaking settlers, led by Major C.A. Boulton, decided to end Riel's provisional government. But the deaths of Sutherland and Parisien made the men under Boulton's command unwilling to fight. They wanted to return to their homes. Unfortunately, they were captured by Riel's men and the provisional government sentenced Boulton to death for treason. Facing considerable opposition, Riel called off the execution. But one of Boulton's men, Thomas Scott, infuriated the Métis and on March 3, 1870, Scott was brought to trial for "insubordination" and for taking up arms against the provisional government. The Métis court sentenced Scott to death and he was killed by a firing squad. Riel's explanation was a simple one: "We must make Canada respect us."

Orange Ontario's Response

The death of Scott could not have had worse consequences for Riel. Extremists in both English and French Canada reacted violently.

Orange Ontarians screamed for Riel's blood and Quebecois defended him in equally strident tones, but Riel maintained his position as leader of the provisional government. He drew up a Bill of Rights for the Métis and sent a delegation to Ottawa to discuss the matter. Sir John A. Macdonald appointed Georges Etienne Cartier, the senior French cabinet minister, to meet Riel's representatives. Their primary demands were that the Assiniboia District should enter Canada as a province, not as a territory and that both Catholic and Protestant schools should receive public funds as in Quebec.

I suppose that after having been condemned, I will cease to be called a fool, and for me, it is a great advantage.

Louis Riel

Riel Welcomes Canada's Representative

The Canadian government agreed to most of Riel's demands and the result was the Manitoba Act under which the province was established in 1870. When the negotiators returned, Riel welcomed the agreement:

I congratulate the people of the North-west. . . . I congratulate them on having trust enough in the Crown of England to believe that ultimately they would obtain their rights. . . . For myself, it will be my duty and pleasure, more than any other, to bid the new [lieutenant-] governor welcome on his arrival. I would like to be the first to pay him the respect due to his position as Representative of the Crown.

The Agreement Fails

The contentment that followed the agreement was short-lived. Before the new government could take over, a military expedition from Ontario arrived in Fort Garry. The intent of the troops under the command of General Wolseley was clear. Riel was persuaded to flee from Fort Garry. Wolseley wrote:

Personally, I was glad that Riel did not come out and surrender, as he at one time said he would, for I could not then have hanged him as I might have done had I taken him prisoner when in arms against his sovereign.

On 2 September, 1870, Lieutenant-Governor Archibald arrived. Though personally sympathetic to the Métis, he faced what he called a "frightful spirit of bigotry" among the troops in Manitoba. Worse, the delegates that Riel had sent to Ottawa returned with a promise of amnesty for Riel and his men; no such amnesty was forthcoming.

Riel in Hiding

The next years saw Riel constantly in hiding. He first went to the United States, then to Montreal and finally to Ottawa where he had twice been elected as a Member of Parliament but never allowed to take his seat. He stayed just long enough in the capital to steal into the House and be sworn in by the clerk who did not recognize the Métis leader until he was on his way out the door. He then went to the United States in exile.

Among his defenders in Ottawa was a young French Canadian who was later to become Prime Minister, Wilfrid Laurier. Laurier often spoke on Riel's behalf:

How could Riel be regarded as a rebel? What act of rebellion did he commit? Did he ever raise any other standard than the national flag? Did he ever proclaim any other authority than the sovereign authority of the Queen? No, never. His whole crime and the crime of his friends was that they wanted to be treated like British subjects and not to be bartered away like common cattle.

Riel Returns

Riel stayed in the United States until 1884. Then, after years of mental and economic instability, his second chance came. The Métis further west were faced with the same problems as the Métis in Manitoba had been 15 years earlier. The white society was pushing westward and the Canadian Pacific Railway was about to cross their lands. The memory of Riel was still vivid and they pleaded with him to come back to Canada and take up their cause once more. The Métis told Riel, *that the part of the North-west*

in which we are living is like Manitoba before the troubles, with the difference that there are more people, that they understand things better. Do not imagine that you will begin work when you get here; I tell you it is all done, the thing is decided; it is your presence that is needed. . . . The whole race is calling for you!

On his return, Riel organized the Indian and Métis people through his oratory. He was also greatly helped by the brilliant military tactics of his fellow Métis, Gabriel Dumont.

The Rebellion of 1885

In the beginning Riel was enthusiastically welcomed not only by the Métis but also by many Indians and even some white settlers. It was generally agreed that only through combined action could they assert their rights to an independent life apart from the mainstream of Canadian society. However, Riel's mental instability combined with the actions of some of the more adventurous Indian leaders were not a formula for success.

Initially, Riel wished to negotiate with Canada but he was quickly driven into battle. Events overtook him and the uprising was short-lived. It resulted in the inevitable collapse of the Métis cause. The Canadian troops, under Major-General Middleton, were both better equipped and stronger in number than Riel's band. Riel surrendered at Batoche, Saskatchewan, in May 1885.

Trial and Execution

The trial of Louis Riel began on July 20. He was defended by three lawyers from Quebec. They stressed Riel's zealous religious devotion and

The country we came from belonged to us; you took it from us; we will live here.

*Sitting Bull to an
American Officer after
coming to Canada, 1876*

his belief in his own divine mission. Unsatisfied, Riel pleaded to the judge:

The Crown . . . [is] trying to show I am guilty . . . and lawyers, who have been sent here by my friends whom I respect, are trying to show that I am insane.

Riel, for a time, tried to question witnesses himself but he was eventually persuaded by his lawyers to remain silent. On July 31, he was pronounced guilty. The jury recommended mercy. Appeals came to Prime Minister Macdonald from all over the world but, after two reprieves, Louis Riel was hanged on November 16, 1885.

Conclusion

The importance of Louis Riel, his struggle and his death is hard to determine. In many ways, Riel is more important as a symbolic figure than as a leader of his people. For the culture he tried to preserve, he is a martyr. For those who encouraged westward expansion no matter what the cost, he is a symbol of villainy — even madness. To the French Canadians who sympathized with him, he remained an example of the oppression of minorities by the British.

There is, in a sense, an idea of Riel to suit every purpose and to support every viewpoint. The most unusual development, however, is the resurrection of Riel as the father of Manitoba and a hero of Canada. It may be a sad but unavoidable conclusion that the celebration of Riel by the very government that took his life is evidence that his capacity to inspire rebellion is now lost forever.

Native People Today

In this section we will examine the conditions in which native people live today. There is no pleasant way to describe the situation in which most native Canadians find themselves. For some, life is full and prosperous. For the vast majority, however, life is desperate and poor.

A Statistical View

Statistics can often seem abstract and unreal. However, the statistics on native Canadians are so startling that they compel attention. About 90 percent of all Indian students drop out of school before completing Grade 12. Of those who do go on, the National Indian Brotherhood has been able to find only four Indian lawyers and two Indian doctors. Even in the federal Department of Indian Affairs, only 15 percent of its approximately 8000 employees are native Canadians.

The native people of Canada are economically, educationally and socially deprived. They are also the fastest growing minority group. As native people are becoming more conscious of their conditions and are also growing in number it is clear that their problems will have to be dealt with.

The number of native people has increased although their average life span is much shorter than for other Canadians. In 1970, for example, the average life expectancy of an Indian was 34 years, while the average non-Indian could expect to

live an average of 72 years. This is due in part to the high rate of infant mortality among native people. More than twice as many native children under the age of two die as white children. However, even if adequate medical treatment could lower the rate of infant deaths among native people, the picture would only be a little less bleak. As James S. Frideres reports:

The harsh fact still remains that Indians will live nearly 40 years less than their white counterparts and even if they survive their first two years, they will still on average live 20 years less. This is a sad commentary on the "just society" promised to Canadians in the twentieth century.

The Move to the Cities

Not all native people today live on the reservations that were established for them by the federal government. In recent years many native people have moved to the larger Canadian cities. The chart below shows that native people prefer to move to very large cities. This is partly because they believe that there are more opportunities there for unskilled workers. But it is also partly because once a number of Indians move to a city, it becomes easier for others to join them and adapt to their new surroundings. For these reasons cities like Vancouver, Edmonton, Winnipeg and Toronto have developed pockets of Indian poverty.

Unfortunately, Indians in the cities do not seem to fare much better than Indians on reservations.

Nevertheless, many Indians still decide to move to the cities. After

What is life? It is a flash of a firefly in the night. It is a breath of the buffalo in the wintertime. It is as the little shadow that runs across the grass and loses itself in the sunset.

*Crowfoot, Blackfoot chief,
1890*

Indian Population by Selected Cities

	1951	1961	1970
Vancouver	239	530	3 820
Edmonton	62	335	5 000
Winnipeg	210	1082	20 000
Toronto	—	1196	24 000

Source: Adapted from J.S. Frières, *Canada's Indians: Contemporary Conflicts* (Toronto: Prentice-Hall, 1974), p. 20.

all, the reservations can only support a certain number of people and when they become too crowded, some have to go in search of employment. The Indians who leave are normally those with a better than average education. They have been taught to accept white society and have been encouraged to believe that they can make it in the big cities.

Some are successful, learn a trade and find steady employment. These people frequently try to forget their native ancestry and attempt to move into white neighbourhoods. They also often want to get white status symbols such as new cars and new homes. They try to disappear into their new environment and be like everybody else. Most, are not so fortunate.

Urban Unemployment

Many Indians find that they cannot get jobs as easily as they had thought, especially in times of high unemployment. In some cases, Indians are refused jobs because white employers are prejudiced against native people. In many more cases, the Indians find out too late that they are not adequately trained to compete in the modern urban setting. Without formal education or skills, the jobs Indians usually find are menial and often short-lived.

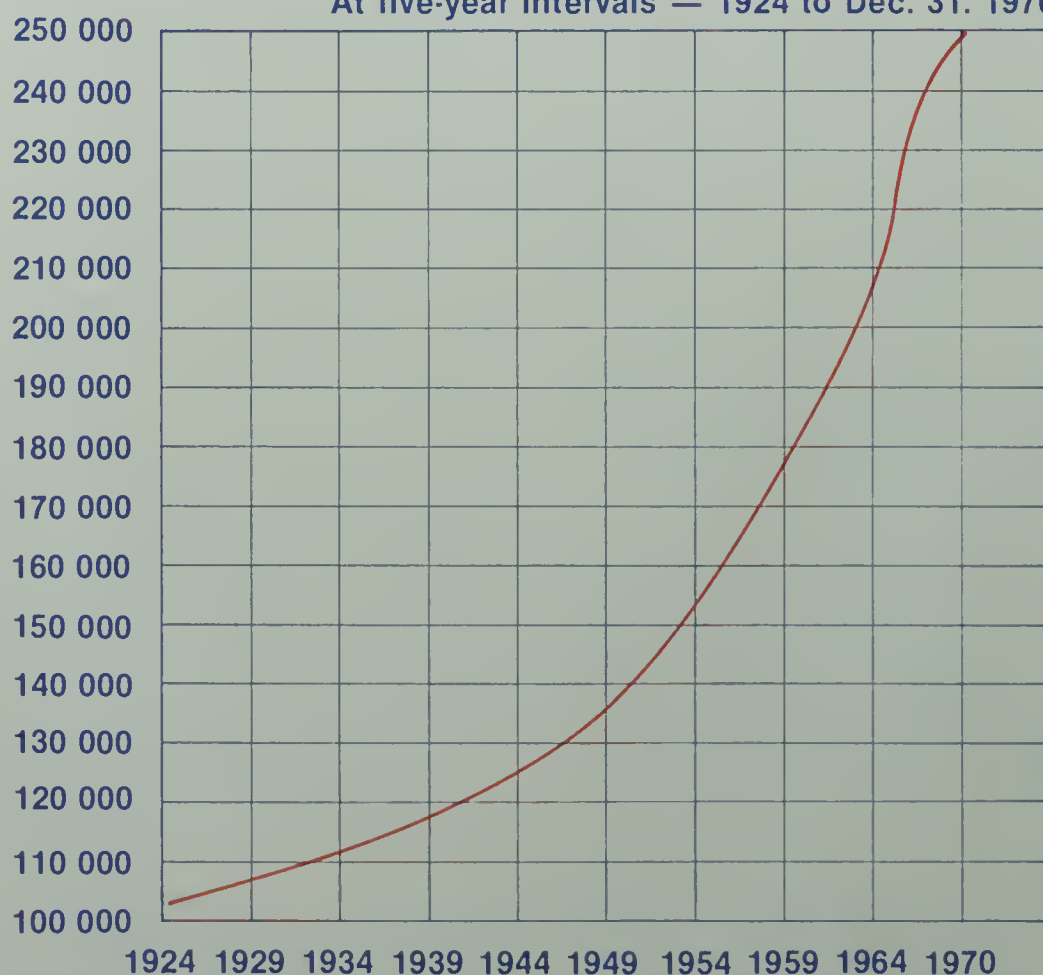
Denying One's Identity

Facing a frustrating life in the city, native people develop a variety of strategies for survival. One tactic is to deny the fact that they are Indians at all. If possible, they may pass themselves off as a member of a more acceptable group. As one observer reports:

They may label themselves Hawaiians or members of other such . . . groups to obtain jobs, social services, etc. . . . Interviews with urban Indians reveal that some had not told their husbands (or wives) that they were Indian even though they had been married several years.

Status Indian Population in Canada

At five-year intervals — 1924 to Dec. 31, 1970



Source: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

It is a sad commentary on our society that we convince some of our citizens it is better to hide their ethnic identity rather than to acknowledge, much less be proud of it.

In many ways, this situation reminds one of the condition of black people in the United States before the rise of black power in the 1960s. It was common then to see American negroes trying to take on the fashions of whites. Much worse, it was often reported in psychological studies that black children had a poor image of themselves from their earliest years. Asked to draw a picture of an average child, black boys and girls would usually draw a healthy, normal white boy or girl. But asked to draw a picture of themselves, they would draw a much smaller black child — often with one leg or one arm missing.

This kind of shame characterizes many native people in Canada. The efforts of new Indian leaders will, however, help to stop such negative feelings by instilling a sense of pride and self-worth in the coming generations. What we cannot be sure of is whether their new-found pride will help them cope with an impoverished way of life. It is quite possible that next year, or maybe some years from now, the native people of Canada will make a concerted effort to win not only their dignity but also some degree of economic prosperity.

To make the social problems of native people worse, an elaborate governmental and judicial system has locked the native people into situations that few can understand.



Doctor Gilbert C. Monture, OBE

Gilbert C. Monture, OBE, D Sc., honoured by his people with the name — Ash-to-seragowash — which translated is "Big Feather." Born on the Six Nations Reservation, the son of Joseph Monture, he is a lineal descendant of Joseph Brant, war leader of the historic Six Nations. Early academic success set Dr. Monture on his path for a career of great activity. From Queen's University, he served in World War I as a Gunner in the Royal Canadian Field Artillery, attaining a Lieutenancy in the Royal Canadian Engineers. He completed his degree of Bachelor of Science in Mining and Metallurgy. With the Dominion Department of Mines, as Editor, then as Chief of the Division of Mineral Economics, this special knowledge of mineral resources in Canada in World War II, made him Canadian Executive Officer of Combined Production and Resources Board in Washington, DC. For this work, he was honoured with the Order of the British Empire. The University of Western Ontario awarded him a Doctor of Science degree. The Indian Achievement Award was presented to him in Chicago. Mr. Monture represents Canada in many lands as an authority and advisor on mining economics. Throughout his life, he has exemplified great determination and tenacity — overcoming many obstacles. As a citizen of Canada and the world, Dr. Gilbert Monture has few equals.

Native People and the Law by Scott O. Shields

The history of native rights in Canada has centred on aboriginal legal rights, treaty rights and something called the Indian Act. For those not familiar with the compartments I will briefly elaborate.

Aboriginal Rights

First, aboriginal legal rights may be defined as the legal claim native people have in the land they and their ancestors have used and used "extensively." If this right is put in question, the native peoples, in order to put a stop to the colonizers in question, or to advance a claim for compensation, must prove that (1) they occupied the land for generations and (2) that they have used the land — hunted, fished or farmed — extensively during that time. If this can be done, the Indians are said to have a personal and usufructuary right in the land. This means that their right in their land can only be taken away by the Crown — which is to say, the government in Ottawa.

Legislation and Treaties

Aboriginal legal rights can, therefore, be "extinguished" (meaning, of course, taken away) by legislation of the federal government. If this is the method used, there need be no compensation, providing the legislation is clear in its stated intention. In addition, aboriginal legal rights can be "extinguished" by treaty with the Crown. . . . Such a treaty or contract of extinguishment would require some form of "consideration" moving both ways. Under contract law it is well known that a contract may see a vast area of valuable land move from one holder to another in consideration of a "peppercorn" or \$1.00 moving from

In the government you call civilized, the
happiness of our people is constantly
sacrificed to the splendour of empire
Joseph Brant

the new holder to the old. Finally, it should be noted, extinguishment, before the land mass that is now Canada became a nation-state, could be legally accomplished by the sword; by conquest.

To sum up, Indians have a recognized right in the land they occupy if they can prove long and extensive use of that land. That right can be extinguished by the Crown, today, in two ways: (1) federal legislation and (2) a treaty with the Crown.

Treaty Law

Treaty law involves extinguishing aboriginal legal rights in what might be a tribe or band's ancestral homeland through the band in question contracting to give up those rights to the Crown in return for consideration which, in Canada, has usually taken the form of a few square kilometres of land that has come to be known as a reserve; that is, the personal and usufructuary right shrinks from the ancestral homeland to the reserve. In addition sundry other considerations may be included, such as the Crown making an annual payment in money or goods or both to the adult members of the band with, perhaps, some extras to the chief or leaders. These treaties, without exception, have made the Indian bands signatory to them literally wards of the federal government by virtue of Section 91.24 of the British North America (BNA) Act and, as a consequence, later the Indian Act.

The Indian Act

The Indian Act, a version of which first appeared in 1868, is an Act that sets down the administrative legalities of the relationship between status Indians and the federal government and between status Indians and their land and property and non-

status people.

Now, while the above may appear to be rather straightforward, it is not. In fact, the whole package of native rights is so complex that innumerable lawyers, judges, politicians and government officials of all shapes and sizes have earned a considerable part of their incomes arguing the controversial complexities of aboriginal rights, treaty rights and the Indian Act itself In the space available it would be impossible to consider in detail the controversial legal aspects of the three-part package of Indian rights. Only brief mention, therefore, will be made of the first two with slightly more emphasis on the Indian Act.

The Controversy Over Treaties

There is considerable legal controversy today whether or not certain treaties and surrenders were, and consequently are, valid. In the early 1970s, for example, Mr. Justice Morrow of the Northwest Territories' Territorial Court found that there were serious doubts whether or not the Indians who entered into surrender agreements in the Territories earlier this century had understood the nature of the agreement. He therefore issued a caveat which, simply stated, meant that the governmental authorities should anticipate further legal controversy over *possible* renegotiation of aboriginal legal rights and act accordingly. . . .

As the result of his granting of the caveat, Judge Morrow found himself under savage federal government attack. While, however, I commend the Judge's decision, I cannot see why the government acted with such vehemence against it. All that Morrow's decision did was to keep the controversy in the hands of the lawyers, judges and politicians. His

judgement gave the illusion of legal progress. . . .

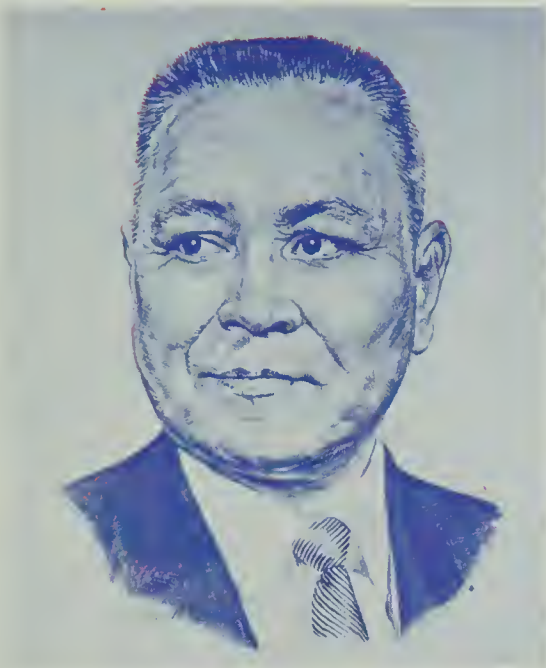
The Calder Case

The Nishga Indians in British Columbia are currently discovering this fact. In 1970 they asked for a declaratory judgement by the BC Court of Appeal affirming their aboriginal legal title to the Nass Valley. The case was known as *Calder v. Attorney-General*. Expert evidence indicated beyond any doubt that the Nishgas had occupied the Nass Valley since "time immemorial" and had used the valley "extensively" to this day. The Nishgas had, moreover, never entered into a treaty for any purpose, let alone to surrender their valley. In a decision which left jurists agog, the Court ruled that the Nishgas did not have aboriginal title to their land "in the absence of legislative or executive recognition of such title."

Mr. Calder, of course, appealed to the Supreme Court of Canada. A few years later, and after considerable legal controversy, the Supreme Court upheld the BC Court's decision. As any good lawyer will tell you, however, the Supreme Court decision was controversial. Of a Court of seven justices, three upheld the BC Court's decision. Three opposed it. The tie-breaker, the seventh, would not proffer a judgement due to, as he saw it, a legal technicality. The controversy here became a stand-off in which only the Nishgas lost.

A Unique Law

The Indian Act is a consequence of the formal part of our Constitution known as the BNA Act. Under Section 91.24 of that Act, the federal government assumes responsibility for "Indians and Lands reserved for Indians."



The Indian Act is unique in Canadian law. In the absence of Section 91.24 of the BNA Act there could be no Indian Act just as there can be no Jewish Act, no Hutterite Act or no Blue-Eyed-Peoples Act. The common law tradition, in fact, does not admit to legal racial or ethnic definitions of any sort. Our own Bill of Rights would, in the absence of Section 91.24, disallow the Indian Act. Nevertheless the Act stands. And, regrettably, it stands today both in defense of and against very concrete rights of a long-exploited and abused 250 000 Canadians. . . .

The Indian Act is made up of 124 sections that run the gamut of defining those who fall under its jurisdiction and those who don't to the administration and management of reserve monies, the administration of natural resources on reserves, and for the regulation of everything from hunting, fishing and trapping to vehicles and traffic on reserves, pool rooms and "places of amusement," disease control and medical treatment, inspection of all premises, sanitary conditions, the empowering of councils to borrow money and the penalties in terms of

money and incarceration for violations of these regulations.

Over all this, it should be noted, the Governor-in-Council reigns supreme. In short, the Minister has the last word over any dispute under the Act barring costly litigation. Clearly, then, status Indians in Canada can be viewed as much wards of the federal government as "infants and persons of unsound mind" can become wards of the Court. This has been the case for over one hundred years.

Conclusion

Indians in Canada are a colonial people dominated and oppressed by the non-native society. Those who disagree with this statement find ammunition in asserting that Indians, quite to the contrary, are citizens-plus! After all, they have aboriginal legal rights which are rights above and beyond any other Canadian's rights. Moreover, they are a select group in that they, unlike other "groups," have entered into treaties with the rest of society. In addition, access to the courts may be had by Indians if these supplementary benefits are questioned.

Alas, however, Indians have been made clearly citizens-minus. The legal controversy surrounding aboriginal and treaty rights serves only to create the illusion of Indians as citizens-plus. From time to time a small legal step ahead, such as that provided by Mr. Justice Morrow, is heralded by both white and native politicians alike as progress. Invariably, however, such progress invokes the controversy principle and few, if any, are those who can clearly define the real progress made.

(Abridged from "A Subject of Controversy." Reprinted by permission of the author.)

Summary

Canada's native people were never a distinct, united group, as is often believed. They represented many different cultures ranging from the Nootka fishermen and the seal-hunting Inuit to the Iroquoian farmers of the St. Lawrence Valley. Because of these differences in lifestyle, and the lack of communication among people spread over such a vast area, the native people have never united in their efforts to achieve a just place in Canadian society.

The first contacts with the Europeans were generally friendly and hospitable. But the early adventurers from Europe were mainly interested in trade and seldom worried about the effects their culture might have on native society. And during the last few centuries, the Europeans have had a great effect on the native people's lifestyles. Having lost most of their land, the Indian population was rapidly decimated by starvation and the diseases brought by Europeans. Moreover, their traditional values, social organization and approach to education were not respected. In spite of this past, the Indians and Inuit have done much for the development of this country. It is only now that their contribution is being appreciated by other Canadians.

Nevertheless, the scars of long years of fighting losing battles to preserve their dignity and rightful share in Canadian life have left the native people demoralized and broken. However, they are now beginning to unite and new national organizations led by young, articulate leaders are growing fast. As their efforts to obtain justice and equality gain the support of non-native groups, a brighter future for the first Canadians may still be possible.

Chapter Three: The British



How did the Industrial Revolution affect Canadian history?
What impact have British immigrants had on the development of Canada?
Why are the Scots and the Irish distinct groups?
How has our British connection influenced our development as an independent nation?



In the 1971 Census, over 44 percent of Canadians were classified as British in origin. At Confederation over 60 percent claimed a British background. Although their numbers have decreased over the years, the British still represent the largest single ethnic group in Canada. At the same time, they are probably the least unified and most diverse of national groups. Today, a British origin for many Canadians may mean little more than the fact that they speak English and have an English surname. People whose families have been in Canada for two centuries will have little in common with the many immigrants from the United Kingdom who have arrived since the Second World War. The term "British" covers at least four major culture groups; the English, the Scottish, the Irish and the Welsh, each of which are proud of their distinct cultural traditions.

British people and British institutions have had a great impact on Canadian history. In fact, until recently, English-speaking Canadians generally believed that British culture and the Canadian identity were one and the same thing. In 1891, Canada's foremost Father of Confederation, Sir John A. Macdonald, fought his last election on the slogan, "A British subject I was born, a British subject I will die!" Although these attitudes are not common today, it should be realized that most Canadians at that time were proud to be a part of the British Empire, with the security and trade that membership brought. To many, the only alternative to that British connection seemed inevitable absorption into the United States.

Today, Canada has established herself as a fully independent nation, while Britain has become more European in outlook. Whatever the future of their relationship may be, Canada owes Britain a debt of gratitude for the contribution it has made to the development of this country. Its people have brought their historical traditions and their skills, and Canada has also inherited the great British parliamentary and judicial institutions.

To a great extent, the feudal system still prevails there [in Canada], and I saw that I would be a bad citizen, that any man who thought for himself and was only reasonably independent would naturally be a rebel

Henry David Thoreau, 1851

The exploration, settlement and social development of Canada was at least partly a result of the decline of feudalism in Europe and the gradual emergence of a market-industrial society. It is impossible to state precisely when the feudal system was replaced by modern commercial and industrial society. Social changes such as the Industrial Revolution or the development of the technological age do not happen overnight. Usually the people who live through great historical changes are not aware of the significance of the events affecting their lives. However, historians generally agree that the modern age began during the seventeenth century. Often, text books use the arbitrary year 1650 as the great turning point in Western civilization. It is assumed that by this point, we had left behind the trappings of the Middle Ages and of feudalism and had become recognizably modern.

To understand the developments that took place in Western society in general and in Canada in particular, it is important to understand the basic elements of feudal society. We must also grasp the importance of the changes that brought about the institutions, the ideas and the social behaviour that characterize society today.

The Decline of Feudalism

For centuries all Europe was organized to a greater or lesser degree in a social system that we call feudalism. Studying some of the characteristics of feudalism will help us to understand the basis from which our society has emerged. Many of our attitudes and behaviour can be traced to patterns dating back to this period. In many more cases, however, ideas that we now regard as common sense were revolutionary doctrines only a few hundred years ago.

The feudal system was based primarily on an agricultural economy. The majority of people in Europe lived on the land. Most of the wealth was derived from farming. The most important indicator of social prestige, political power and economic influence was the ownership of land. The feudal system was a rigidly hierarchical one. The king was firmly in a position at the top of the social pyramid. The monarch ruled by divine right. It was believed that God had chosen him to be king and he was therefore God's representative on earth. Rebellion against the king's authority was extremely serious. To overthrow the king, for any reason at all, was not only a political crime but was also a religious sin. This was a major reason why outbreaks of rebellion against the king were few and those that did occur were normally suppressed by the combined power of the church and the state.

Beneath the monarch was a wide variety of greater and lesser noblemen. The names for the different ranks of the nobility varied from

country to country. But this small group of people made up a social class in each country that was extremely powerful and exercised firm control of society. These people owed allegiance only to the king.

In the middle levels of society were independent freemen who often lived in towns and worked as craftsmen. These were the millers, the carpenters, the blacksmiths and the small merchants. Although this class was small in number, it performed important services for the community. In later times, it was the group from which the new middle class emerged.

Finally, there was a large number of agricultural labourers. These were the peasants or serfs. In most cases, the peasants had few, if any, civil rights. They enjoyed little of the material comfort that the other classes had. The peasants were often tied to the land and when a piece of property was transferred from one nobleman to another, the peasants who lived on the land were exchanged as well. They were, in essence, just another piece of property to be sold with the estate. The peasants were not quite as badly off as slaves, but their situation was generally bleak. The nobility was responsible by law and custom for the peasants' protection. In return for protection the peasants contributed their labour. In fact, however, the obligations of the nobility to the common people were few. On the other hand, the work done by the peasants was essential to the wealth and power of the great landowners.

The feudal system survived for many centuries. However, like all social arrangements, it eventually had to adapt to technological, economic and other social changes. As

these changes came about the whole of Europe went through a complete reorganization of social relations. The first country that really felt the effects of these changes was Britain. Remembering our caution against thinking of historical periods simply in terms of dates, we can nevertheless identify the years between 1650 and 1750 as a period of the most remarkable social change in British history. It was in this century of transition that the groundwork was laid for the building of the industrial world.

Divine Right of Kings

The state of monarchy is the supremest thing upon earth; for kings are not only God's lieutenants upon earth, and sit upon God's throne, but even by God himself they are called gods. . .

Kings are justly called gods, for that they exercise a manner of resemblance of divine power upon earth; for if you will consider the attributes to God, you shall see how they agree in the person of a king. God hath power to create or destroy, make or unmake at his pleasure, to give life or send death, to judge all and to be judged nor accountable to none, to raise low things and to make high things low at his pleasure, and to God are both soul and body due. And the like power have kings: they make and unmake their subjects, they have power of raising and casting down, of life and of death, judges over all their subjects and in all causes and yet accountable to none but God only. . . .

King James I, Speech
to Parliament

A Century of Transition

The changes that led to the development of modern industrialism sprang mainly from new ideas and inventions in the technology and economy of Great Britain. In particular, navigation and communications were greatly improved. Stronger and larger ships were built which made sea voyages easier and trade more profitable. In the late 1600s, Charles II of England granted charters to powerful merchants and adventurers to explore and establish businesses around the world. In 1670, for example, the Hudson's Bay Company was formed and given the exclusive right to trade for furs in the territory that is now Canada.

As trade and commerce developed, industry became better organized. The great feudal estates were originally devoted to raising crops. Now textile manufacturing became more and more important. This resulted in two important

changes. First, the demand for free labour increased; that is labour that was not tied to a master or land-owner as the serfs had been but was free to travel about from town to town finding employment wherever and whenever possible. Secondly, the need for pastureland to raise sheep for wool increased. This meant that land that had been used to grow crops by the peasants was "enclosed" and used for other purposes. The peasants who had once used the common land in every feudal village were no longer allowed to graze their animals or to grow crops for their own food. These two factors, the demand for free labour and the change in agricultural land from crops to sheep pasture, meant that a large number of workers were seeking jobs in the new and growing cities. This new class of workers not only helped to build industrial England, but also supplied the surplus population that was to build Canada a century later.



In those days black sheep were exported to Canada or Australia. When I blithely flipped a sixpence in the family solicitor's office, the unfortunate losers were the Canadians.

*Boris Karloff,
remembering his
departure from England
to Canada in 1909*

A Petition Against Enclosures Raunds, Northamptonshire, 1797

A petition of the hereunder-signed small Proprietors of Land and Persons entitled to Rights of Common [at Raunds, Northamptonshire].

That the petitioners beg leave to represent to the House [of Commons] that, under the pretence of improving lands in the same parish, the cottagers and other persons entitled to right of common on the lands intended to be enclosed, will be deprived of an inestimable privilege, which they now enjoy, of turning a certain number of their cows, calves, and sheel, on and over the said lands; a privilege that enables them not only to maintain themselves and their families in the depth of winter, when they cannot obtain from the occupiers of other lands the smallest portions of milk or whey for such necessary purpose, and they further conceive, that a more ruinous effect of this enclosure will be the almost total depopulation of their town, now filled with bold and hardy husbandmen, from among whom, and the inhabitants of other open parishes, the nation has hitherto derived its greatest strength and glory, in the supply of its fleets and armies, and driving them, from necessity and want of employ, in vast crowds, into manufacturing towns, where the very nature of their employment, over the loom or the forge, soon may waste their strength, and consequently debilitate their posterity, and by imperceptible degrees obliterate that great principle of obedience to the Laws of God, and their country, which forms the character of the simple and artless villagers, more equally distributed through the open counties, and on which so much depends the good order and government of the state.

*From Journals of the
House of Commons*

Epigram on Enclosures, 1598

Sheepe haue eate vp our medows and
our downes,
Our corne, our wood, whole villages and
townes.
Yea, they haue eate vp many wealthy
men,
Besides widowes and Orphane
childeren:
Besides our statutes and our iron lawes
Which they haue swallowed down into
their maws.
Till now I thought the prouerbe did but
iest,
Which said a blacke sheepe was a
biting beast.

The Period Before Free Labour

In the Middle Ages there was no question that the aristocracy was in command of society and that the poor had little or no power to defend themselves. The very rich seldom encountered the poor at all. Only on very formal occasions, such as the marriage of a prominent person, did the rich appear in public for all to see. Moreover, on those occasions, the wealthy showed themselves off at their best with elaborate costumes and a host of servants attending to their needs.

For the most part, the poor only met the lower gentry, the representatives of the very rich. But the local squires also maintained an air of dignity and prestige at all times. They sat in segregated pews and were in the habit of entering church late and leaving early. The poor were made to come early and none dared get up to leave before the local gentry had left. Such behaviour was considered good manners and served as a constant reminder to the poor to keep in their place.

The law was also very harsh on the poor. For example, executions

for crimes as petty as picking pockets were performed as public rituals. The sight of corpses rotting on gibbets by the highway was ample demonstration of the power of the authorities. It taught many people a lesson they never forgot.

The Decline of the Church

If the rich maintained their position partly by remaining aloof from the poor, the poor also benefited from being left alone. In the century of transition the importance and power of the church was declining. For centuries the established church had been the main institution that kept in touch with the daily lives of the poor. In addition to serving the spiritual needs of the people, it also played an important political role. As we have already seen, the church fully supported the notion of the divine right of kings. The church also taught people that their living conditions on earth were of little importance compared to the salvation of their souls. By teaching that the meek would inherit the earth and that obedience to God's will and the authority of government were great virtues, the church helped to maintain social order and political stability.

In England, however, during the eighteenth century, the established church lost much of its authority. It was no longer respected by the poor to the extent that it had been in the past. The reasons for this change need not be discussed at great length. It is sufficient to note that in England, though not in Scotland or America, the Puritans had gone to great lengths to oppose what they saw as the idolatry and corruption of the Catholic church. They succeeded in undermining the church but they failed to replace it with an insti-

tution of equal importance. As the century drew to a close, the free time of the poor was not controlled by the church nearly as much as it had been.

Lower-class Culture

To fill this vacuum, there was a revival of a robust lower-class culture that was almost pagan in style. Free from religious control, the poor built a vigorous folk culture complete with lavish festivals and feasts. The Anglican priest was no longer accepted as a friend of the poor. Unlike the Irish Roman Catholic priest, the English churchman was excluded from the activities of the lower class.

The important celebrations were changed. No longer did the people pay attention to the Saints' days. Instead, they celebrated the changes of the seasons — spring and harvest time. New entertainments sprang up. The fair with its hucksters, dances and alcohol became very popular. Non-religious parades were held. Breaking free from the staid life of Puritanism, the commoners revived some of the customs and atmosphere of "Merrie Englande." The ordinary people were in a period of transition from a subservient peasantry to a well-organized industrial working class. They were bawdy, outlandish and temporarily free.

Freedom in Transitional Society

It is sometimes argued that the rulers of England in the eighteenth century completely controlled the lives of the labouring poor. Some people even think that the common folk were deprived of all independent political and social identity. However, there is evidence to the

contrary. The economic change from a land-based economy to a modern monetary system was creating a generation of free labour. The main complaint of the gentry was the insubordination of the poor as portrayed, for example, in the well-known novel, *Tom Jones*.

The authorities were forced to take a permissive attitude towards this new sub-culture. The workers, after all, were necessary for the prosperity of the nation. And, for their part, the workers needed work. The ordinary people were by no means revolutionary but, at the same time, they were willing to let their opinions be heard. Looked at from the nineteenth-century point of view, it is easy to see this group as a social class in its adolescence. Nevertheless, it is from this class that many of the immigrants to Canada were to come. It is this background that produced the hardiness and independence necessary for early frontier life.

The New Manufacturing Society

The social patterns that we have just described were common to most of Europe. However, the changes that took place later in Germany, in France and in other European countries originated in the British Isles. For a time, Great Britain and, more specifically, England, was in the forefront of this social development. In many ways the economic, political and social changes in that country set the style for all Europe and, eventually, for the rest

of the world. In fact it can be said that England was the first modern nation and it became a model for all that was to come in the eighteenth, nineteenth and even our own century.

As the historian, Eric Hobsbawm put it:

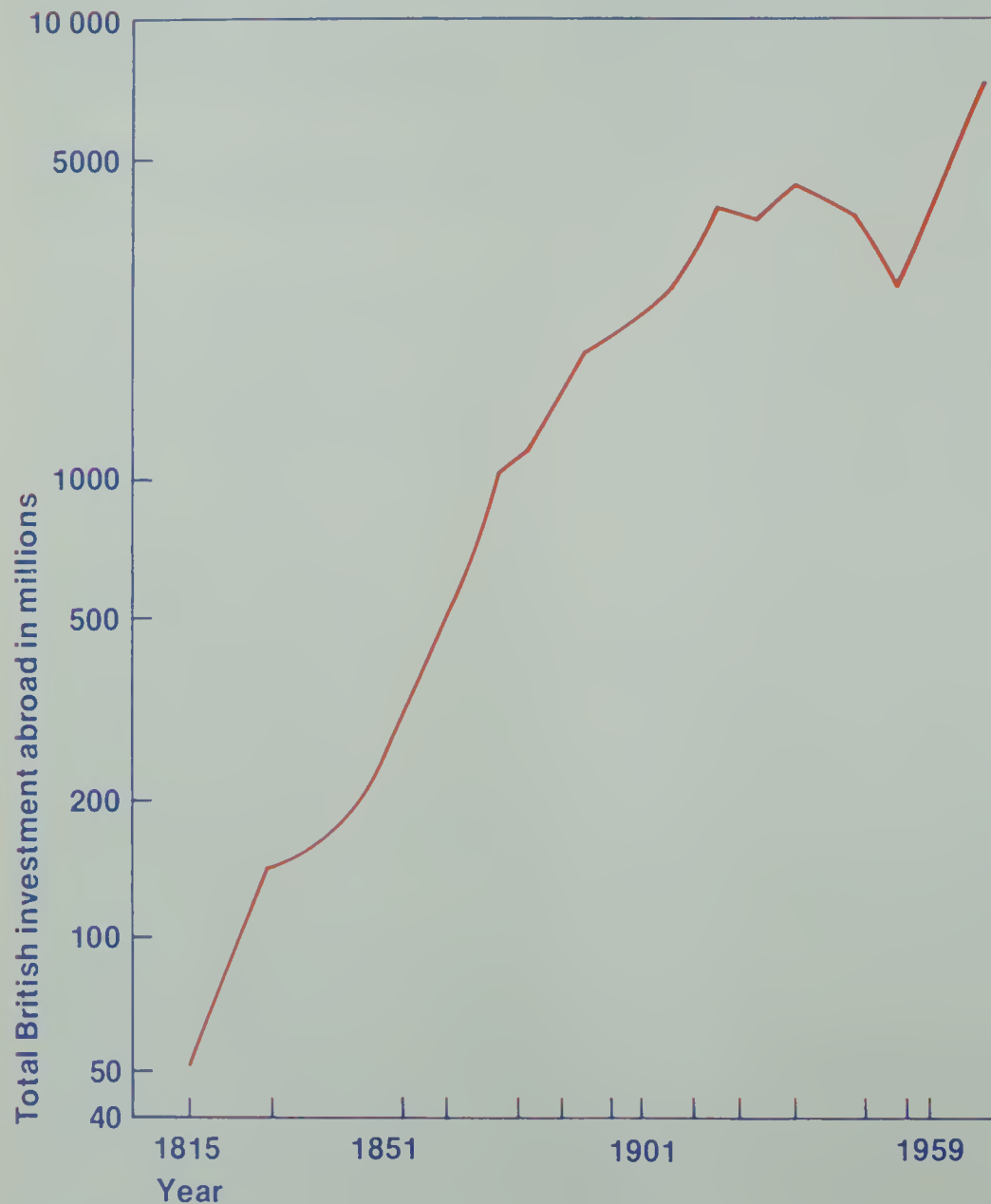
The Industrial Revolution marks the most fundamental transformation of human life in the history of the world recorded in written documents. For a brief period it coincided with the history of a single country, Great Britain. An entire world economy was thus built on, or rather around, Britain, and this country therefore temporarily rose to a position of global influence and power unparalleled by any state of its relative size before or since, and unlikely to be paralleled by any state in the foreseeable future. There was a moment in the world's history when Britain can be described, if we are not too pedantic, as its only workshop, its only massive importer and exporter, its only carrier, its only imperialist, almost its only foreign investor; and for that reason its only naval power and the only one which had a genuine world policy.

There were four principle characteristics of the new manufacturing system that tended to change society. It altered people's religious beliefs, their political ideas, their economic way of life and their social structure. Beginning with Great Britain, these changes have spread throughout most of the world.

The traditions of the community required everyone to like work or to say that he did

John Kenneth Galbraith

British Foreign Investments, 1815-1959



Religious Change

The feudal period had depended for its stability upon the close alliance between the church and the state. Both sacred and secular authorities worked together to organize society. While the king and his nobles controlled the political and economic arrangements, the church provided

ideological support for the system. It had identified the king with God in the minds of the people. Just as God reigned supreme over angels, mortals and sinners in a spiritual sense, so the king reigned over people in a political sense on earth. The parallel between authority in heaven and on earth was unmistakable.

The Protestant Work Ethic

One development of the new age was the undermining of traditional religious authority. People rebelled against corruption and hypocrisy in the established church. A host of Protestant sects sprang up and attacked the conservative tendencies of the Roman Catholic church. Most Protestants did not believe that entry into heaven resulted from a passive acceptance of divine will and heavenly grace. Heavenly rewards were the results of personal deeds. They stressed an active quest for salvation. The Protestants did not limit the scope of the church's teaching to religious issues. Their teachings also involved an important economic ideal. Many Protestant sects affirmed that God showed his approval of individuals through the wealth that each person enjoyed. A rich man was evidently someone who had pleased God while a poor man was a person whose character was flawed and who was, therefore, not in Holy favour.

Thrift, hard work and diligence were seen not only as economic virtues but as religious virtues as well. This combination of characteristics came to be known as "the protestant work ethic." Although this ideal is currently being challenged, it is still one of the major values of modern society. In fact, it remains the basis of the economic system of capitalism or free enterprise.

Acceptance of Science

Traditional religion was also changed in another way by modern society. Before the Industrial Revolution, science was considered unusual and was often feared. There were few scientists in the modern sense. Most people relied on reli-

gious explanations for natural events. Myths, superstitions and miracles were used to help the average man explain anything unusual that happened. People accepted revelations of divine law such as the Ten Commandments rather than man-made laws. They concentrated on discovering God's will rather than trying to invent human explanations.

New ideas were not easily accepted. Explanations that came from observation and experiment were suspect. There were, of course, great men of science who were building the basis for modern technological achievements but their activities were concentrated among members of small groups such as the Royal Society. News of their discoveries did not filter down to the local villages for a long time.

A Practical Religion

During the early stages of the Industrial Revolution, religion underwent important changes. As the influence of the church declined, people became more ready to accept new scientific advances. Religion became adaptive and practical. It began to serve the interests of the new middle class. It encouraged industrious behaviour which was necessary for the growth and expansion of the economy. People tended to affirm their faith with no less zeal but they also accepted the validity of scientific and technological explanations on most matters. Machinery and ministry could co-exist under Protestantism and could be placed on an equally firm foundation.

Men like the physiologist William Harvey (1578-1657), the philosopher Francis Bacon (1561-1626), the chemist Robert Boyle (1627-1691), and the physicist Sir Isaac Newton

(1642-1727) were among the founders of the new ideas and science in England. Under their inspiration, England was the first country to combine the new technology, the new religion, the new economy and the new liberal attitudes towards the individual.

Political Ideas

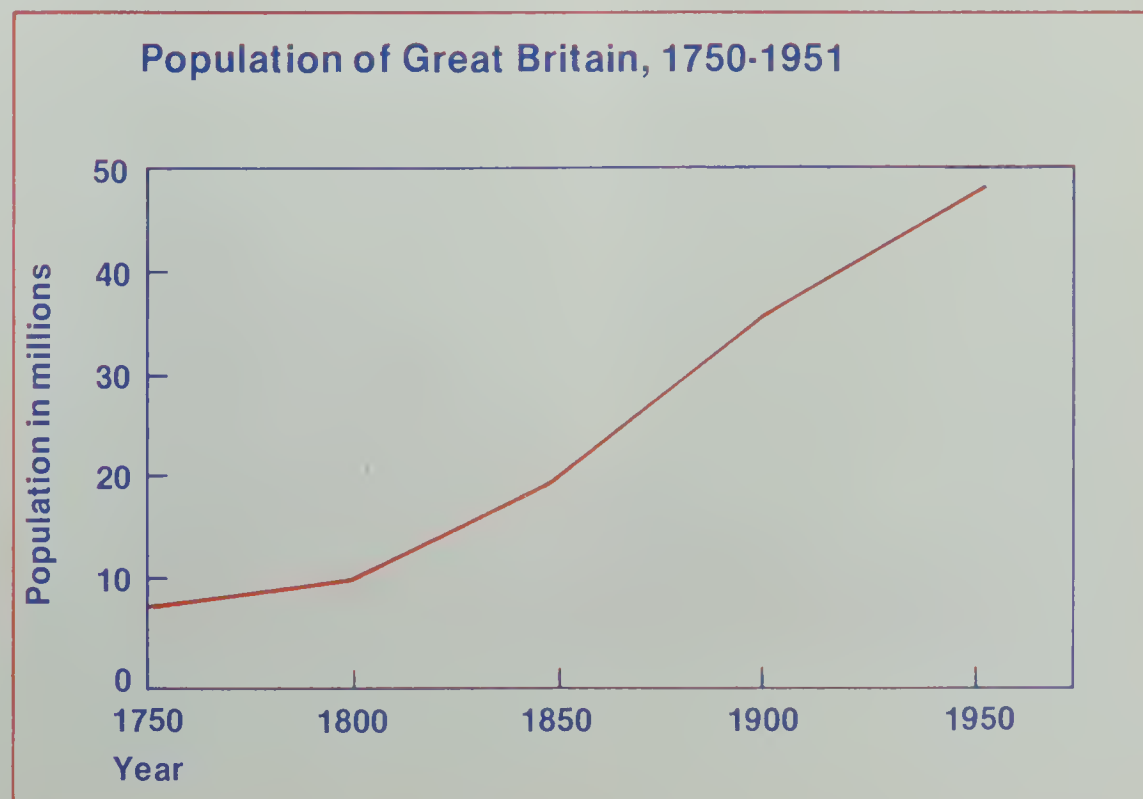
Protestantism had undermined traditional Catholic values and had shaken the last vestiges of feudalism. In politics, this revolution in values led the way to a new set of political ideas known as liberalism. The idea that the individual has certain fundamental or natural rights that ought never to be taken from him was unthinkable in feudal times. The freedom of the individual to pursue personal interests did not fit into the complex system of feudal obligations. To justify a society in which the principle of self-interest was more important than obligation to authority, it was necessary to develop a new set of political ideals.

Individualism

In the English tradition there is a great respect for individual rights. All modern societies that try to defend individual liberties against political oppression or control derive their thinking from earlier developments in England. Such great liberal revolutions as the American Revolution of 1776, the French Revolution of 1789 and the Latin American revolutions of the 1820s took their ideals of rights and liberty from English law and the Declaration of Rights of 1689.

The Economic Base

Both the religious and the political ideas that emerged at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution helped people to accept the new industrial way of life. As we have seen, in feudal times the economy was based on the land. A person's wealth and status was directly related, in most cases, to the amount of land he owned. The life of the peasant was physically demanding and personally



The Anglo-Saxon leads the van,
 And never lags behind,
 For was not he ordained to be
 The leader of mankind

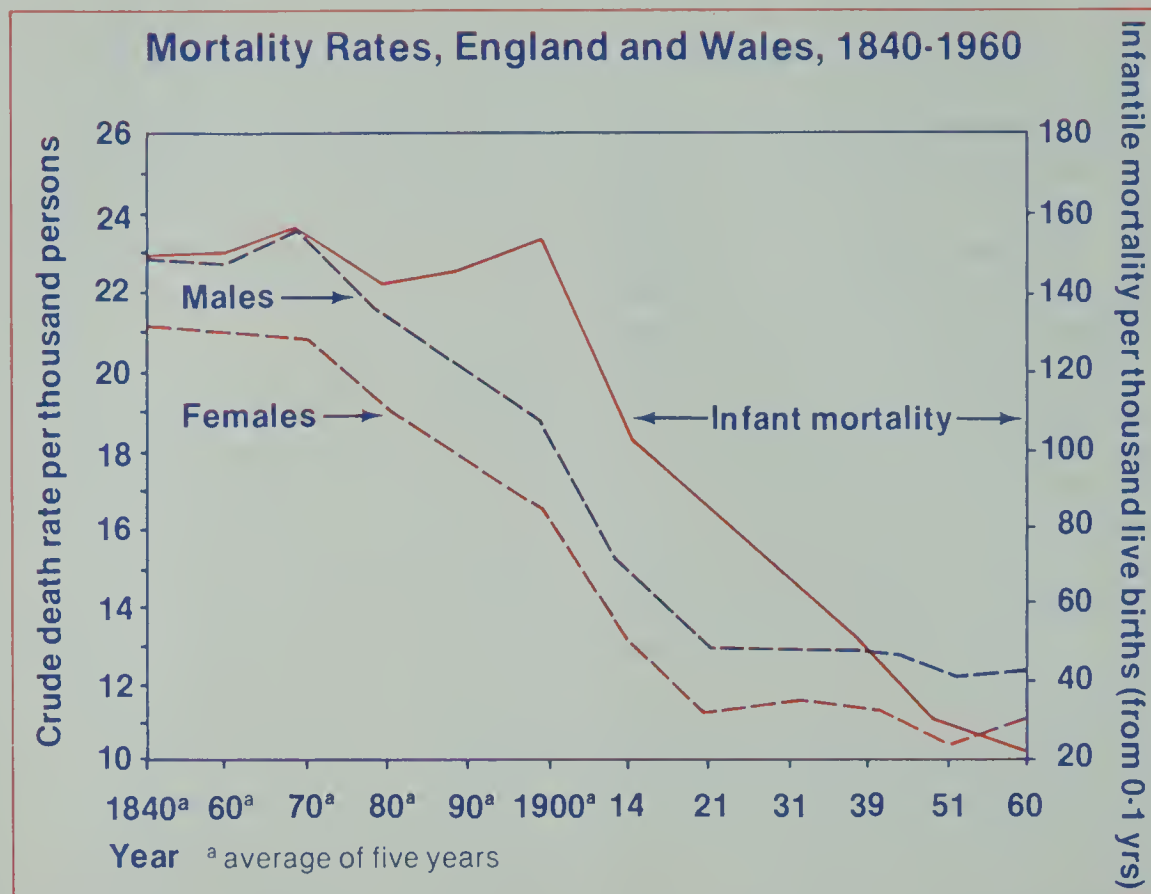
Anonymous

unrewarding. There was little or no opportunity for a person born into a lower social class to move up the social ladder. The few exceptions to this rule normally moved up through military service or by joining a religious order. Most people, however, remained in the same social class from birth to death.

Industrialism

The growth of town life and industrial cities drastically changed this stable class arrangement. The land became less and less important as a source of wealth and prosperity became more and more associated with manufacturing, mining and commerce. The Industrial Revolution affected daily life in many ways. Perhaps the two most important effects were the ways in which labourers earned their living and the new life style that not only the rich but the middle class enjoyed.

For the poor, the growth of the Industrial Revolution meant that they could find work in factories in the new industrial cities. The life of the rural peasant was fast coming to an end. The new ideas of individualism allowed those who were wealthier to challenge the old aristocracy economically and politically. Although the aristocrats were appalled at the power of the upstart businessmen, they could not resist the economic influence that the new *bourgeoisie* (middle class) had won. In time, it was the wealthy industrialists and merchants who replaced the aristocracy in the seats of power and influence. The old order, the aristocracy, could not stop the dynamism of the new industrial age.



Change in the Social Structure

We have already discussed briefly the importance of the new middle class and the decline of the aristocracy. Other important changes occurred in the class structure as well. The peasantry that had formed the basis of the feudal society was all but eliminated in a relatively short time. The number of people needed for agricultural work declined as new machinery and new agricultural methods were developed. Fewer people could now produce the same amount of crops.

The common people were forced off the land and had to travel to towns and cities in search of work. This "reserve army of unemployed" provided inexpensive labour for the mines and factories. Under the feudal system the lord of the manor was obliged to see that the peasant

did not starve to death during the winter. But the factory owner was under no such obligations. Any man, woman or child was employed only as long as there was a job to be done and the person was capable of doing it. Once a person became too old, too sick or was injured, then the job went to someone else and the poor worker was left to survive as best he could.

The Industrial Working Class

Great changes were also taking place in the population of Britain. There were many more people than there had been about 50 years before. From about 1650 onward the population of Britain increased dramatically and between 1800 and 1850 the population almost doubled. As the population was so much larger and many people were looking for work, the price of labour was low. This new class of urban

workers formed the basis of what we refer to today as the industrial working class.

The conditions in which these people lived are difficult for us to imagine. The world they were born into, lived in and died in was one of dehumanizing poverty. The squalid industrial cities were full of disease, crime, destitution and suffering.

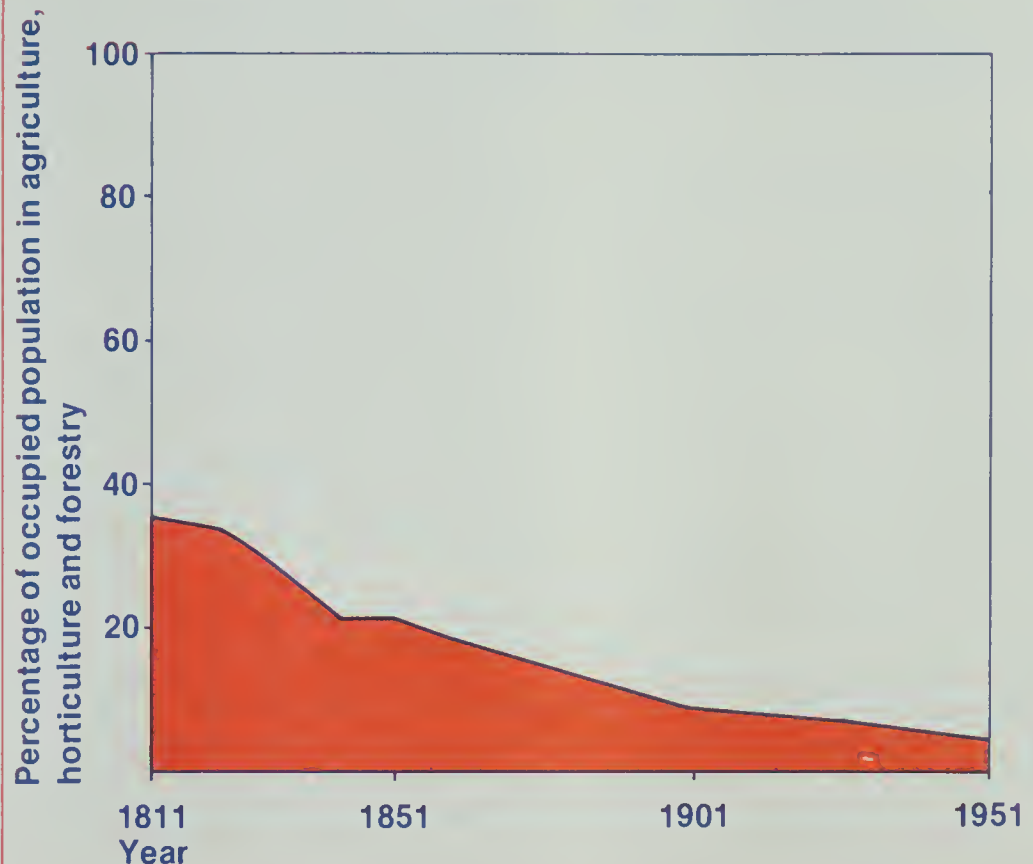
These workers were the victims of the Industrial Revolution and in many ways modern history is the story of their conditions and their efforts to improve their situation. They provided the labour that created great wealth and they provided the most visible evidence that modern society had disadvantages as well as benefits.

The Luddites

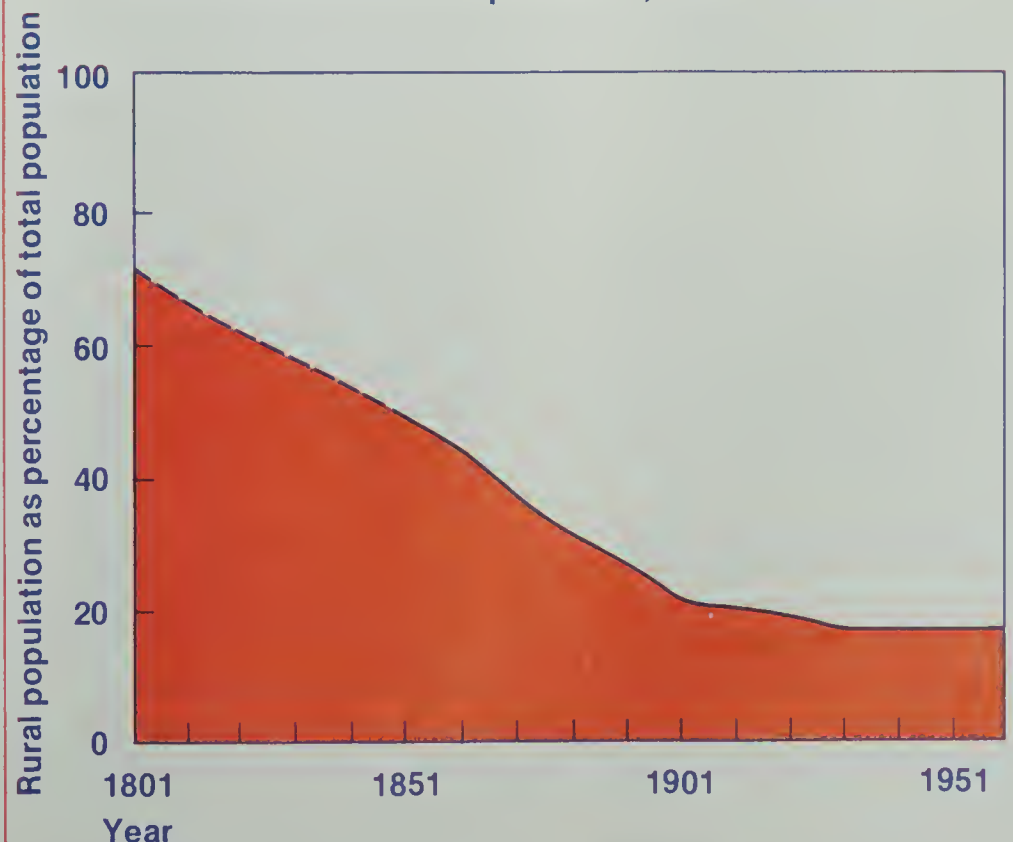
The terrible working conditions and unemployment led to unrest in the lower classes. Many workers formed small rebellious bands. Among the most famous of these were the Luddites. They were mainly from the north of England and were craftsmen such as weavers who had been put of business by the new machinery. Some of them found work in the mills but the conditions were appalling. They banded together and attacked the factories of employers who they felt mistreated them. Their attacks were carried out with military precision. The aim was to break the new machinery that they felt was the cause of their misery and unemployment. One commentator of the time wrote that:

They broke only the frames of such as have reduced the price of the men's wages; those who have not lowered the price, have their frames untouched; in one house, last night, they broke four frames

Decline of Agricultural Population, 1811-1951



Urban and Rural Population, 1801-1961



Report of Committee on Factory Children's Labour, 1831-32

— At what time in the morning, in the brisk time, did those girls go to the mills?

In the brisk time, for about six weeks, they have gone at 3 o'clock in the morning, and ended at 10, or nearly half past at night.

— What intervals were allowed for rest or refreshment during those nineteen hours of labour?

Breakfast a quarter of an hour, and dinner half an hour, and drinking a quarter of an hour.

— Was any of that time taken up in cleaning the machinery?

sometimes this took the whole of the time at breakfast or drinking, and they were to get their dinner or breakfast as they could; if not, it was brought home.

— Had you not great difficulty in awakening your children to this excessive labour?

Yes, in the early time we had them to take up asleep and shake them, when we got them on the floor to dress them, before we could get them off to their work; but not so in the common hours.

— What was the length of time they could be in bed during those long hours?

It was near 11 o'clock before we could get them into bed after getting a little victuals.

— What time did you get them up in the morning?

In general me or my mistress got up at 2 o'clock to dress them.

— So that they had not above four hours' sleep at this time?

No, they had not.

— For how long together was it?

About six weeks it held; it was only done when the throng was very much on; it was not often that.

— The common hours of labour were from 6 in the morning till half-past eight at night?

Yes.

— With the same intervals for food?

Yes, just the same.

— Had any of them [the children] any accident in consequence of this labour?

Yes, my eldest daughter when she went first there; . . . [a] cog caught her forefinger nail, and screwed it off below the knuckle, and she was five weeks in Leeds Infirmary.

— Has she lost that finger?

It is cut off at the second joint. . . .

— Did this excessive term of labour occasion much cruelty also?

Yes, with being so very much fatigued the strap was very frequently used.

*be another Luddite in Company
he will raise his left Hand over
his left Eye — then you must
raise the forefinger of your
right Hand to the right Side of
your Mouth — the other will
raise the little finger of his left
Hand to the left Side of his
Mouth & will say, What are
you? The answer, Determined.
He will say, What for? Your
answer, Free Liberty.*

They celebrated their victories and kept morale high by singing ballads like this one.

*You Heroes of England who
wish to have a trade
Be true to each other and be
not afraid
Tho' Bayonet is fixed they can
do no good
As long as we keep up the
Rules of General Ludd.*

The Luddites were not the only activists in England at this time. There were many other subversive organizations. This letter from the Mayor of Leeds to Earl Fitzwilliam describes one such group operating in August, 1802:

*out of six; the other two which
belonged to masters who had
not lowered their wages, they
did not meddle with.*

The organization and actions of the Luddite movement was described by an English historian from reports of the time.

*The Luddites were masked or
disguised; had sentinels and
couriers; 'they communicated
with each other by means of a
watchword, and the firing of a
pistol, or gun, is generally the
signal of danger, or of a
retreat':*

*The rioters appear suddenly,
in armed parties, under regular*

*commanders; the chief of
whom, be he whomsoever he
may, is styled General Ludd,
and his orders are as implicitly
obeyed as if he had received
his authority from the hands of
a Monarch.*

*It was generally believed
that the Luddites acted under a
solemn oath, and that disobe-
dience to the General's orders
was punished with death.*

The Luddites communicated with each other by secret signals and pass words:

*You must raise your right Hand
over your right Eye — if there*

With respect to the nocturnal meetings, they continue, though the place is never known to others till they take place. On Friday evening at or near midnight a meeting was held in a hollow way, or narrow valley about six miles from Leeds and two from Birstall, at some distance from any public road. A man of perfect veracity assures me that he attempted to form one of the party, but found that scouts were stationed on all sides at some distance, the outermost of whom accosted him and aimed at drawing him off in a different direction. On his persevering he found another irregular and moving line of scouts,

I wish the British Government would give you Canada at once. It is fit for nothing but to breed quarrels.

Lord Ashburton to John Quincy Adams, 1816

who asked his business, and upon his continuing to proceed towards the “Black Lamp” of men, a whistling was made, and he heard expressions and tones of voice that quite deterred him from his purpose.

From another quarter on which I can depend, I learn that the committee forming the “Black Lamp,” and which on Friday night might be composed of about 200 men, consists of those who have discoursed on the subject with nine others, and have sworn them in, each of which again, ad infinitum, becomes a Committee man on the same grounds. “Abolition of all taxes, and the full enjoyment of their rights” are the subjects on which the leaders hold forth, and the cement which holds them together.

Trade Unions

In addition to the subversive organizations of craftsmen, there were the equally hated and feared trade unions. To join a trade union was, of course, a dangerous act. Unions were illegal and considered seditious by the government. Those who joined unions were put through elaborate rituals to guarantee the secrecy of the group. This is a description of such a ritual in 1832.

When a member is admitted there are two rooms, in one of which the Lodge is assembled. The first operation was to blindfold him; he was then conducted into the Lodge by two members; he was then required to give the pass word, which on that occasion was Alpha and Omega; he was then walked round the room, during which time a great rumbling noise was made by a sheet of iron — a hymn was then sung — and he still continued to walk about the room two or three times, and was

asked if his motive was pure — they then took the bandage from his eyes, and the first thing he saw was a picture of death as large as a man, over which was the inscription “Remember Thy End”. Over this picture there was a drawn sword — his eyes were then bandaged again, and he was walked about the room, when, upon a signal being given, all the members made a great stamping noise with their feet — he was then ordered to kneel down beside a table, and the bandage was again taken from his eyes, when he saw a large bible before him, his hand having been placed upon it. . . . The 94th Psalm was then read, when the oath was administered which was to this effect: that he was to obey all the commands of the Union Committee, and to keep all secrets in every particular — the conclusion of the oath contained an imprecation, on which each person sworn is made to wish that if he violates the oath that his soul may be burnt in the lowest pit of hell to all eternity. . . .

To protect the unions, oaths like this were taken.

I call upon God to witness this my most solemn declaration, that neither hopes, fears, rewards, punishments, nor even death itself, shall ever induce me directly or indirectly, to give any information respecting any thing contained in this Lodge, or any similar Lodge connected with the Society; and I will neither write, nor cause to be written, upon paper, wood, sand, stone, or any thing else, whereby it may be known. . . .

The Chartists

From these secret societies of rebels grew large, mass movements committed to changing the system.

Perhaps the best remembered were the Chartists.

The basic document of the Chartist Movement was its original Charter passed in 1838 by the London Working Men’s Association in consultation with Francis Place and several radical Members of Parliament. The Chartists demanded:

- universal suffrage for men
- annual Parliaments
- voting by secret ballot
- equal electoral districts
- abolition of property requirements for Members of Parliament
- payment for Members of Parliament

These demands were certainly not radical by our standards. At the time, however, the Chartist cause was viewed with alarm. The Chartists’ aims were democratic and they believed that:

Required, as we are universally, to support and obey the laws, nature and reason entitle us to demand that in the making of laws, the universal voice shall be implicitly listened to.

The Anti-Corn Law League

One issue that, to some degree, united the middle class and common workers was the taxes on corn which protected the profits of the wealthy landowners. The taxes gave rise to such rhymes as this:

Ye coop us up and tax our bread
And wonder why we pine,
But ye are fat and round and red
And filled tax bought wine.

Although the Chartists’ demands were only met many years later, Richard Cobden led a largely middle-class protest movement called the Anti-Corn Law League that was to succeed in winning important reforms. The League

The Tolpuddle Martyrs

In 1834, six men were convicted and sent to Australia for the crime of "administering secret oaths." They were agricultural unionists in southwest England.

Their exile was the subject of great public outcry and protest. It was argued that as long as other secret societies such as the Orange Lodges administered secret oaths, it was unfair to act against unionists. The radicals and unionists demanded to know if the threat posed by six men in Dorchester could seriously be compared to the Orangemen, a body of two hundred thousand men, many of whom held high ranks in the army and who took secret oaths and held secret meetings. To quote one historian: "The secret army within the army, the possibility of *coup d'état* were implied. The arguments were strong and the threat was a real one, although supporters of the Lodges protested their Protestantism and loyalty to the personage of the king."

The Tolpuddle men were soon pardoned and returned to England. Seeking a new life, five of the six men brought their families to Ontario in the 1840s. George and James Loveless, John and Thomas Stanfield and James Brine all emigrated to the area near London, Ontario. Only James Hammett remained in England.

The immigrants arrived in Canada in the wake of the Mackenzie Rebellion. It was said that "for their sakes and their children's, it was as well that the men had decided upon their vow of silence and to wipe the slates clean. For the Upper Canada in which they settled was in many ways less liberal and more despotic than the England they had left."

In the words of a Canadian at that time, "The people of Upper Canada detest democracy; they are staunch in their allegiance to the King." The colony at that time not only inspired rebellion but also provided a sanctuary for those who worked slowly for reform and tempered liberalism.

demanding removal of the taxes that had been placed on corn and insisted on free trade. They believed that free trade would solve four major economic problems. It would guarantee the prosperity of the manufacturer by increasing the money available for ordinary people to buy consumer goods. It would make the price of food cheaper and provide regular employment for many people. It would make English agriculture more efficient by stimulating demand for its products in industrial areas. Finally, free trade would introduce a new era of international peace through mutually advantageous trade agreements among countries.

The League was denounced by Conservative critics as the "foulest and most dangerous combination of modern times." *The Times* of London condemned Cobden's statements as "incendiary clap trap." Nevertheless, by 1846 the middle class has won its victory and taxes on corn were removed. The real economic effects of the Corn Laws and their repeal is debatable. What is important is the fact that it was the middle-class League and not the working-class Chartists that mobilized support against "the lords and great proprietors of the soil."

Gradually, trade unions received legal recognition and with the passing of the Reform Bill of 1867 working-class men finally received the right to vote. There was a slow but steady improvement in working conditions and political rights for men. Within the first two decades of the twentieth century, women won many of the rights that men had gained. The women's fight for their rights was led by such notable suffragettes as the famous Pankhurst family.

The Pankhurst Family

"Their duty was their pleasure."

Four women, Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughters Christabel, Adela and Sylvia, were instrumental in organizing the women's movement in England and helped spread it to Australia, the United States and Canada.

Extravagant and inspired, they turned their efforts to many causes. Adela and Sylvia worked for women's suffrage and socialism. Christabel, the "glamorous leader of the suffragettes, held audiences spellbound with her oratory." She was an "honourable casualty" who lost her hope in the human struggle and lived out her life as a religious zealot. Finally, there was the indomitable Emmeline who fought valiantly for women's rights though she never shared her daughters' socialist ideas, and who died a Tory candidate for Parliament in 1928.

Mrs. Pankhurst spent several years in Canada early in this century. She even became a Canadian citizen late in her life. From the beginning of her public career, she was moved by the radical humanitarianism of her husband, Dr. Richard Marsden Pankhurst, who died in 1898.

It was Sylvia, however, who was the least compromising disciple of her father. It might be a fitting tribute to all the Pankhursts to quote Sylvia's heroine, Rosa Luxemburg, who expressed the deep convictions all the Pankhursts held: "To be human is the main thing and that means to be strong and clear and of good cheer in spite of and because of everything. To be human means throwing one's life on the scales of destiny if need be, to be joyful for every fine day and for every beautiful cloud."

This sentiment guided the Pankhursts in their lifelong struggle for human dignity as it inspired Rosa Luxemburg in her revolutionary dreams which died with her murder in 1919.

Nobody would ask for the vote by ballot
but from gross ignorance; it is the most
corrupt way of using the franchise
John Strachan, 1835

The Suffragettes' Cause

This was the beginning of a campaign the like of which was never known in England, or, for that matter in any other country. If we had been strong enough we should have opposed the election of every Liberal candidate, but being limited both in funds and in members we concentrated on one member of the Government, Mr. Winston Churchill. Not that we had any animus against Mr. Churchill. We chose him simply because he was the only important candidate standing for constituencies within reach of our headquarters. We attended every meeting addressed by Mr. Churchill. We heckled him unmercifully; we spoiled his best points by flinging back such obvious retorts that the crowds roared with laughter. We lifted our little white banners from unexpected corners of the hall, exactly at the moment when an interruption was least desired. Sometimes, again, the crowds were with us, and we actually broke up the meeting. We did not succeed in defeating Mr. Churchill, but he was returned by a very small majority, the smallest of any of the Manchester Liberal candidates.

We did not confine our efforts to heckling Mr. Churchill. Throughout the campaign we kept up the work of questioning Cabinet Ministers at meetings all over England and Scotland. At Sun Hall, Liverpool addressed by the Prime Minister, nine women in succession asked the important question, and were thrown out of the hall; . . . We questioned Mr. Asquith in Sheffield, Mr. Lloyd George in Altrincham, Cheshire, the Prime Minister again in Glasgow, . . . Always we were violently thrown out and insulted. Often we were painfully bruised and hurt.

Taken from *My Own Story*
by Emmeline Pankhurst

Women in Canada

English servants who came out to Canada did so with the firm determination of finding a husband in a hurry and of making homes and raising families who would not be servants but masters. While waiting for the husbands these women accepted positions, grumbling from morning till night at the inconveniences of the West. There were hosts of bachelors trying to make good in this new world — men who were only too willing to marry a helpmate. Love did not much matter if she was competent and these women in their turn were glad enough to go through drudgery and hardship if they were working for themselves and for their own independence.

Emily Carr

The Land Commissioner of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company again reminds us that the great want of the Northwest is more women. The bachelor farmer is, he says, the greatest drawback to the prairie country. His home unkempt, and his life unsweetened by human companionship save that of his own stern sex, he becomes dissatisfied and careless. As a Canadian journal truly remarks, a few thousand loyal and sensible women would probably do more to make that country than any other influence that could be brought to bear upon it just now. They would give some energy to the now weak and ineffectual efforts of lone young farmers. Suitable immigrants of that kind can find employment at excellent wages, and are not likely to have to do long without husbands, if they are so inclined.

The Canadian Gazette, 1896

Immigrant Girl Works Twelve Years for \$690

The case of immigrants lured to this country for purposes of intensive exploitation is fast becoming a national scandal.

One of the latest cases came to notice in Judge Merideth's court in Toronto when Kate Lees attempted to recover wages covering a period of twelve years. She was sent out from the old country over twelve years ago as a slave of the farm at a wage of \$8 per month, but she didn't get much of even that miserable pittance.

The lawyer who defended her exploiter advanced the argument that in view of the advantages she had of getting an eye full of the superior people she was slaving for she shouldn't ask for so vulgar a thing as money.

The Judge "awarded" her \$690.00 although she asked for \$3,703.00 saying that the "statute of limitations" prevented him from giving more. But there was no "statute of limitations" to prevent her twelve-year peonage.

The Worker, December 7, 1929

I learned that Canadian women had already taken up the matter of home-steads for women with a deep sense of the injustice of a law which . . . ignores the claim of the sex which bore the brunt of the battle in those early and difficult days . . . No pen can depict the fine part women played in the spade-work of expansion in Canada.

Georgina Binnie-Clark

You Canadians should be proud of the founders of your country. The United Empire Loyalists were a grand type of loyal, law-abiding, God-fearing men. No country ever had such founders, no country in the world. No, not since the days of Abraham!

Lady Emily Tennyson

Emigration

Not all the workers stayed to face unemployment or long hours of work in the factories in Britain. Many chose to leave their homeland in the hope of finding better opportunities in the colonies. Many were encouraged or even forced to emigrate by a government that was growing more and more aware of the problems of overpopulation and poverty in the British Isles. Some people of British origin chose to go to Canada in the hope that English culture would survive here better than in the United States.

Among those who left were many women and girls who hoped they would find better work and more equality in the colonies. Some hoped that they could find a husband from the many pioneer farmers and settlers. The life they found here was often harder than they had expected, but they played an important role in the settlement of Canada.

In the rest of this chapter we will look at some of the first groups of immigrants to Canada. We will examine what drove them to come and what conditions they faced on arrival.

American Loyalists

In studying the influence of the British on Canadian life it is important to realize that each of the successive waves of British immigration came as a result of conditions in England related to the Industrial Revolution. The British fact in North America had been established as early as 1497 when John Cabot,

acting as an agent of the British Crown, first claimed North America for England. As far as Canada is concerned, there was little permanent British settlement until after the conquest of New France in 1759. Previously, English activity in what is now Canada was mainly associated with the fur trade or the cod fisheries. The Hudson's Bay Company, established in 1670, was not interested in settling farmers, only in trade. In fact, the British government at first actively discouraged settlement in Canada. The British wanted to establish themselves further south in what is now the United States.

The Conquest

After General Wolfe's victory on the Plains of Abraham and the relief of the fort of Quebec by the British fleet, all the French-occupied lands fell to the English. This included much of what is now Ontario and the mid-western United States as well as present-day Quebec. The British had to deal with the people of New France in addition to the English settlers in the Thirteen Colonies. How they did this is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. Here it is sufficient to note that when the Quebec Act was passed in 1774 the British not only guaranteed the French their religion, laws and language but also restricted the westward expansion of the Thirteen Colonies. This development outraged the Protestant expansionist colonies. The Quebec Act was one of the main grievances that led to the American Revolution a year later. There is no need to recount the events of the American Revolution. Not all Americans agreed that rebellion, let alone independence, was necessary or even desirable.

Those who, for whatever reasons, chose to support the Crown, found themselves in a very delicate situation when the war ended.

Social Origins

There is a great deal of controversy over the reasons why the Loyalists came to Canada. Some historians argue that they consisted almost exclusively of the upper class in America who feared that equality would follow closely on the heels of political independence. They preferred to escape the democratic tendencies in the new republic and come to Canada where inequality seemed assured. Two objections to this argument can be raised. First, if wealth was their great concern, it is unlikely that they would have waited until the Revolution ended in 1783 to flee the United States. And anyway, they would surely have preferred England to the wilds of the Canadian frontier or the stark conditions of the Maritimes. Secondly, the War of Independence was hardly a war fought over democracy and economic equality. Men like George Washington, John Adams and even Thomas Jefferson were not trying to bring about complete equality. They spurned the radical Americans like Tom Paine whose ideas were really subversive to the interests of wealth. True, they were committed to some political liberties. They were particularly concerned about the right of the colonists to participate in decisions that affected the colonies. However, they never intended that political rights should be extended to everyone. They retained a belief in restricting the right to vote to men of property and, of course, they rejected the ideas of extending the vote to women or of abolishing slavery.

The death of General Wolfe who had helped bring both Scotland and Canada into British hands during the eighteenth century.



James Wolfe (1727-1759)

There is probably no other British soldier so well-known in Canada as James Wolfe. Every Canadian has heard of his capture of Quebec City in the summer of 1759.

Born at Westerham, England in 1727, Wolfe began a distinguished military career in 1741. After service in the Netherlands, Germany and Scotland he was promoted to lieutenant-colonel in 1750 and to full colonel in 1757. After

capturing Louisbourg after a seven-week siege in 1758, he was appointed to command the expedition against Quebec in 1759 with the rank of major-general. In a daring move at night his army crossed the river and by dawn Wolfe was marshalling them on the Plains of Abraham. In the battle that followed, the British defeated the forces under Montcalm. But during the battle Wolfe was mortally wounded and died a few minutes later.

Not all Loyalists were wealthy landlords from the upper classes. There is evidence to suggest that people from all social classes clung to their allegiance to the British Crown. As one historian reported:

Most random lists of Loyalists show even less evidence of gentility than this. Always the gentlemen, esquires, merchants, and the like are far outnumbered by the yeomen, cordwainers, tailors, labourers, masons, blacksmiths, and their fellows. The social heterogeneity of the New York Tories is evident in the list of people arrested there in June 1776 on suspicion of plotting to assassinate General Washington. These people included the mayor of New York, some other officials and gentlemen, some farmers, several tavern-keepers, a shoemaker, two doctors, several apprentices and labourers, two tanners, a silver-smith, a saddler, two gunsmiths, a tallow chandler, a miller, a school-master, a former schoolmaster, a former constable, a "pensioner with one arm", and one unfortunate man described only as "a damned rascal".

Although the Loyalists were drawn from all social classes, they shared one important characteristic. Those who emigrated to Canada were North Americans who had no interest in returning to England. They came here for varied and often complex reason. Some no doubt felt ill at ease with the republicans and genuinely, though mistakenly, believed that the United States would breed a society of equals. Some feared reprisals against themselves and their families for alleged acts of treason against the revolu-

tionary government. Some were merely attracted by the promise of free land in parts of the Maritimes and Upper Canada — land which was more productive and in greater supply than in their own country. Whatever impelled them to come, loyalty, principles, or greed, they arrived in great numbers in the Maritimes and a great part of what is now southern Ontario.

Demands for Reform

The part the Loyalists played in the life of Upper Canada was originally inspired by their rejection of the American Revolution, but among them were some of the most important people agitating for reform in the Canadian colonies. One particularly important aspect of this trend towards reform may be seen in the development of local government in Ontario. In the early years of the British administration, from 1763 until the mid-eighties, there was little provision for local government. The citizens of each parish could elect a total of six men to act as constables and inspect roads and bridges. Even these elections, however, were under the control of the Governor-General who had to approve and appoint the men elected by the people.

The arrival of the Loyalists put new pressure on the colonial administration. In 1783 alone, it is estimated that as many as 20 000 Loyalists settled in the area between Montreal and southwestern Ontario. Most of them came from New England and New York where a vigorous form of local self-government, complete with elected councillors and town meetings, had been in existence for years. The result was, in the words of a local government expert, Dr. C. R. Tindal, that



not surprisingly, the Loyalists agitated and petitioned for greater autonomy in local administration. The British ... were not anxious to grant any significant degree of local self-government, partly because they felt that the democratic nature of the New England town meeting had contributed to the revolutionary attitude in the United States.

Nevertheless, continued pressure resulted in modest reforms. Gradually control over such matters as local taxes, education and the improvement of services slipped away from the colonial administration. There was still discontent with the British government's slowness to respond to the needs of local communities and many Loyalists continued to press for more democratic institutions in Canada. This undoubt-

edly contributed to the Rebellion of 1837, a crisis that would test the people's allegiance to the Crown.

However, in the period immediately following the American Revolution, there can be no doubt that the lives of many of the Loyalists were hard.

The Loyalists

Those who fought for the British in the American Revolution were amply rewarded. Soldiers were allotted land in Canada according to rank.

In 1786 Carleton, now Lord Dorchester, returned [to Quebec] to fill again the post of Governor General. In the Instructions issued to him on this occasion, the most important addition to the clauses relating to lands was a special provision for an allotment of lands to officers and men of the 84th Regiment of Foot, in fulfillment of a promise made to that corps upon its formation. The special allotments were to be as follows:

Field Officers	5,000 acres.
Captains	3,000 acres.
Subalterns	2,000 acres.
Non-commissioned . . .	200 acres.
Privates	50 acres.

As for the Loyalists in general, these comments reflect the attitude of the times.

Almost all the Loyalists were, in one way or another, more afraid of America than they were of Britain. Almost all of them had interests that they felt needed protection from an American majority.

William H. Nelson

With [the United Empire Loyalists] the Unity of the Empire was a sacred thing

This strong feeling induced very many to sacrifice their possessions, and in many cases lucrative positions, rather than assent to the political principles which were becoming predominant around them.

Henry Scadding

Those noble men and women who, rather than live under an alien rule, left all the comforts and luxuries of their well filled homes that they might found in the then wilderness of Canada a new home, where the British flag might still wave over, and British laws still govern them.

R.N. Ball

The Loyalists, to a considerable extent, were the very cream of the population of the Thirteen Colonies. They represented in very large measure the learning, the piety, the gentle birth, the wealth and good citizenship of the British race in America, as well as its devotion to law and order, British institutions, and the Unity of the Empire.

J. H. Coyne



Sir Isaac Brock (1769-1812)

Sir Isaac Brock, who may be considered one of the great soldiers of British North America, is remembered for his involvement in the War of 1812. Born on the Island of Guernsey in 1769, he began his distinguished military career in the 8th Regiment. By 1797, at the early age of 28, he was lieutenant-colonel of the 49th Regiment. He was promoted to the position of colonel in 1805 and major-general in 1811 just before the outbreak of the War of 1812.

There is no doubt that in the early months of the war he was the mainstay of the British defense of Upper Canada. With great imagination and expertise, he captured Detroit on August 15, and on October 13 his troops defeated the American invaders at Queenston Heights. During this engagement Brock was wounded and died the same day. Although he was involved in the War of 1812 for only a short time, there can be little doubt of the tremendous contribution that he made to the defense of Canada.

Lieutenant-Governor John Graves Simcoe opening the first Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada, 1792.



John Graves Simcoe (1752-1806)

John Graves Simcoe was born at Cotterstock, Northamptonshire, England on February 25, 1752. After being educated at Eton and Merton College, Oxford, he entered the British Army in 1771. He served in the British Army throughout the American Revolution and commanded the Queen's Rangers from 1777-1781.

When he returned to England he was elected to the House of Commons, and was appointed as the first Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada in 1791. When he arrived in Canada he first established the capital at Newark (Niagara). However, he later moved the government offices to York, present-day Toronto. He is noted for establishing Toronto and his efforts to open up the province by building roads and encouraging immigration, particularly the late Loyalists. When his term of office in

Canada ended he was appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of San Domingo.

Although his time in Canada was not without its problems, he did make a considerable contribution to the growth and development of present-day Ontario.

The Rebellion of 1837

Most English immigrants in the early nineteenth century had little to support themselves with except the hope of getting their own land in the colony. They had been driven from their land in England by the enclosure movement. As peasants living on manorial lands they had generally had the right to till the soil and graze cattle on what was called common land. However, when it became more profitable, the lords of the manor often fenced in the common land and stopped the peasants using it. Since many of the common people could not make a living without the common land to graze their cows or sheep, they sought work elsewhere. They usually had two choices; hard labour in the mines or factories, or emigration to the colonies. Emigration was actively promoted by the British government. The government believed that sending able-bodied men and women from Britain to the colonies would help the Empire in two ways. First, the poverty and unemployment in England, which increased the possibility of social unrest, would be greatly alleviated. Secondly, the stability and prosperity of the colonies (and, therefore, of Britain) would be guaranteed.

The Promise of Land

Men and women were encouraged to seek their fortunes in the New World. People who were willing to make a new life for themselves were promised free land upon arrival in Canada. At the outset, this

And now the rebellion's over
Let each true Briton sing.
Long live the Queen in health and
peace,
And may each rebel swing.

Anonymous

William Lyon Mackenzie

promise was fulfilled. However, it did not take long before a small group of men gained considerable control over land policy in the colonies. Some of these were Englishmen; some were prominent Loyalists. These people, known collectively as the Family Compact, managed to win most of the important political positions in the colony. They were a tight-knit group joined by friendship and often by marriage. Through their influence on successive Governors-General and local administrators, they were able to make immense profits from the sale of Crown land and to gain social prestige in the colony of Upper Canada.

The success of this group depended on a close relationship between themselves and the English Governor-General. Although several of the Governors-General were undoubtedly men of wisdom and foresight, it is Sir Francis Bond Head who is best remembered in Canadian history. In the late eighteenth century, his predecessor, John Graves Simcoe, had established a remarkable road and transportation system in Upper Canada. This had opened up what is now Ontario to settlement by British farmers. As the nineteenth century progressed, however, more and more land was falling under the control of a few men. Often Crown land was granted to former military officers or to friends of the Family Compact. These people then sold their free land to immigrants at prices that were certain to bring a profit — especially if payments were not met and the land reclaimed.



William Lyon Mackenzie

This state of affairs alarmed many ordinary citizens in the colony. It was, however, a young Scot named William Lyon Mackenzie who reacted most vocally.

Mackenzie had come to the new colony in 1820. He was a self-proclaimed heir of Culloden, whose father had fled with Prince Charles to Europe and then to England. Mackenzie was born in Scotland but

found prospects more attractive in North America. Shortly after his arrival, however, he began to see what a firm grip the colonial aristocracy had on Upper Canada. He then went into the newspaper business determined to expose the corruption and win a form of democratic government for the Canadian people. His efforts won him the admiration of many colonists and the enmity of the colonial administration. Still, he persisted and, in 1832, he left for England armed with a petition to the

Mackenzie was a crazy man,
 He wore his wig askew
 He donned three bulky overcoats
 In case bullets flew
 Mackenzie talked of fighting
 While the fight went down the drain
 But who will speak for Canada?
 Mackenzie come again.

Dennis Lee

Mackenzie Names the Family Compact

When I left Upper Canada last year some of the offices, sinecures and pensions of the government were divided as follows: —

No. 1 *D'Arcy Boulton*, senior, a retired pensioner, 500 pounds sterling.
 No. 2. *Henry*, son to No. 1, Attorney-General and Bank Solicitor, 2400 pounds.
 No. 3 *D'Arcy*, son to No. 1, Auditor-General, Master in Chancery, Police Justice, etc. Income Unknown.
 No. 4. *William*, son to No. 1, Church Missionary, King's College Professor, etc., 650 pounds.
 No. 5. *George*, son to No. 1, Registrar of Northumberland, Member of Assembly for Durham, etc. Income Unknown.
 No. 6. *John Beverley Robinson*, brother-in-law to No. 3, Chief Justice of Upper Canada, Member for life of the Legislative Council, Speaker, 2000 pounds.
 No. 7. *Peter*, brother to No. 6, Member of the Executive Council, Member for life of the Legislative Council, Crown Land Commissioner, Surveyor-General of Woods, Clergy Reserve Commissioner, etc., Income 1300 pounds.
 No. 8 *William*, brother to Nos. 6 and 7, Postmaster of Newmarket, Member of Assembly for Simcoe, Government Contractor, Colonel of the Militia, Justice of the Peace, etc. Income Unknown.
 No. 9. *Jonas Jones*, brother-in-law to No. 2, Judge of the District Court in three districts containing eight counties, and filling a number of other offices. Income about 1000 pounds.
 No. 10. *Charles*, brother to No. 9, Member for life of Legislative Council, Justice of the Peace in twenty-seven counties, etc.
 No. 11. *Alphous*, brother to Nos. 9 and 10, Collector of Customs, Prescott, Postmaster at ditto, Agent for Government Bank at ditto, etc. Income 900 pounds.
 No. 12. *Levius P. Sherwood*, brother-in-law to Nos. 9, 10, 11, one of the Justices of the Court of King's Bench. Income 1000 pounds.
 No. 13. *Henry*, son to No. 12, Clerk of Assize, etc.
 No. 14. *John Elmsley*, son-in-law to No.

12, Member of the Legislative Council for life, Bank Director, Justice of the Peace, etc.

No. 15. *Charles Heward*, nephew to No. 6, Clerk of the District Court, etc. Income 400 pounds.

No. 16. *James B. Macaulay*, brother-in-law to Nos. 17 and 19. One of the Justices of the Court of King's Bench. Income 1000 pounds.

No. 17. *Christopher Alexander Hagerman*, brother-in-law to No. 16, Solicitor-General. 800 pounds.

No. 18. *John M'Gill*, a relation of Nos. 16 and 17, Legislative Councillor for life. Pensioner, 500 pounds.

Nos. 19. and 20. *W. Allan* and *George Crookshanks*, connexions by marriage of 16 and 17, Legislative Councillors for life, the latter President of the Bank. 500 pounds.

No. 21. *Henry Jones*, cousin to Nos. 9, 10, etc., Postmaster of Brockville, Justice of the Peace, Member of Assembly for Brockville. Income unknown.

No. 22. *Wm. Dummer Powell*, father of No. 24, Legislative Councillor for life, Justice of the Peace, Pensioner. Pension, 1000 pounds.

No. 23. *Samuel Peters Jarvis*, son-in-law to No. 22, Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, Deputy Secretary of the Province, Bank Director, etc. Income unknown.

No. 24. *Grant*, son to No. 22, Clerk of the Legislative Council, Police Justice, Judge Home District Court, Official Principal of Probate Court, Commissioner of Customs, etc. Income, 675 pounds.

No. 25. *William M.*, brother to 23, High Sheriff Gore District. Income from 500 pounds to 800 pounds.

No. 26. *William B.*, cousin to Nos. 23 and 25, High Sheriff, Home District, Member of Assembly. Income 900 pounds.

No. 27. *Adiel Sherwood*, cousin to No. 12, High Sheriff of Johnstown, and Treasurer of that district. Income, from 500 pounds to 800 pounds.

No. 28. *George Sherwood*, son to No. 12, Clerk of Assize.

No. 29. *John Strachan*, their family tutor and political schoolmaster, archdeacon and rector of York, member of the Executive and Legislative Councils, Pre-

sident of the University, President of the Board of Education, and twenty other situations. Income, on an average of years, upwards of 1800 pounds.
 No. 30. *Thomas Mercer Jones*, son-in-law to No. 29; associated with No. 19, as the Canada Company's agents and managers in Canada.

This family connexion rules Upper Canada according to its own good pleasure, and has no efficient check from this country to guard the people against its acts of tyranny and oppression.

It includes the whole of the judges of the supreme civil and criminal tribunal (Nos. 6, 12, and 16) — active Tory politicians. Judge Macaulay was a clerk in the office of No. 2 not long since.

It includes half the Executive Council or provincial cabinet.

It includes the Speaker and eight other Members of the Legislative Council.

It includes the persons who have the control of the Canada Land Company's monopoly.

It includes the President and Solicitor of the Bank, and about half the Bank Directors; together with shareholders, holding, to the best of my recollection, about 1800 shares.

And it included the crown lawyers until last March, when they carried their opposition to Viscount Goderich's measures of reform to such a height as personally to insult the government, and to declare their belief that he had not the royal authority for his despatches. They were then removed; but, with this exception, the chain remains unbroken. This family compact surround the Lieutenant-Governor, and mould him, like wax, to their will; they fill every office with their relatives, dependants, and partisans; by them justices of the peace and officers of the militia are made and unmade; they have increased the number of the Legislative Council by recommending, through the Governor, half a dozen of nobodies and a few placemen, pensioners, and individuals of well-known narrow and bigoted principles; the whole of the revenues of Upper Canada are in reality at their mercy; — they are paymasters, receivers, auditors, King, Lords, and Commons!

The wild and rabid toryism of Toronto is,
I speak seriously, *appalling*.
Charles Dickens, 1842

Rebels drilling in North York, 1837.

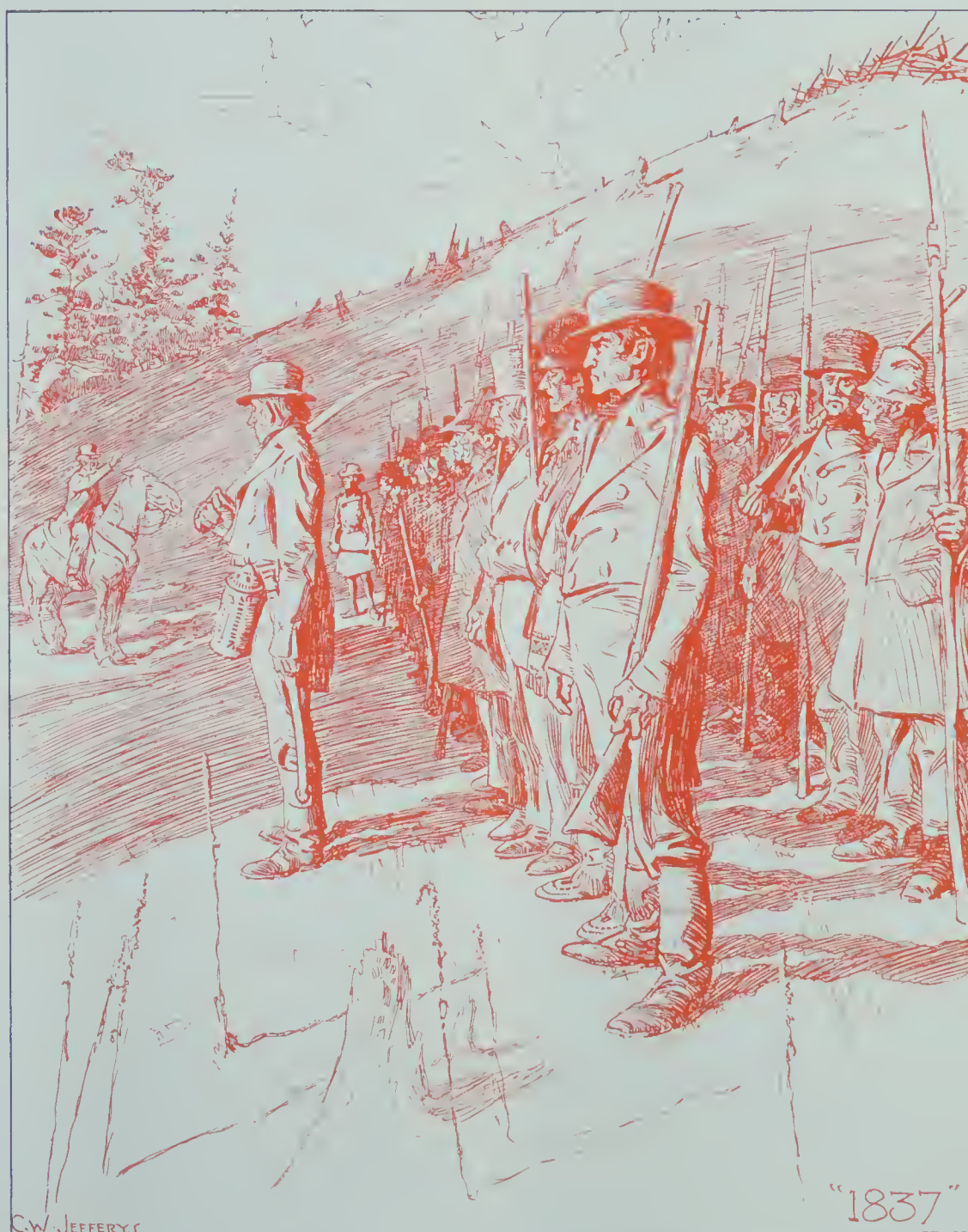
King seeking redress of the colony's grievances. His faith in the justice of the monarchy was shaken, however, when he was turned back with no satisfaction. He and his comrades began to plan other means of dealing with their problems.

In present-day Canada we pride ourselves on being a democratic nation. Most people would deny that any small political or economic group or elite control Canadian society. Such was not the case in the 1830s. Sir Francis Bond Head not only admitted that there was a Family Compact but praised it as well. After Lord Durham had criticized the group, Sir Francis responded:

It appears from Lord Durham's own showing, that the "Family Compact" which his Lordship deems so advisable that the Queen should destroy, is nothing more or less than that "social fabric" which characterizes every civilized community in the world. It is that social fabric, or rather, fortress within which the British yeoman, farmer, and manufacturer is enabled to repel the extortionate demands of his labourers; and to preserve from pillage and robbery the harvest of his industry after he has reaped it.

'The bench', 'the magistrates', 'the clergy', 'the law', 'the landed proprietors', 'the bankers', 'the native-born inhabitants', and 'the supporters of the Established Church', form just as much 'a family compact' in England as they do in Upper Canada and just as much in Germany as they do in England...

The Family Compact of Upper Canada is composed of those members of its society who, either by their abilities or character have been honoured by the confidence of the



executive government, or who, by their industry and intelligence, have amassed wealth. The party, I own, is comparatively a small one; but to put the multitude at the top and the few at the bottom is a radical reversion of the pyramid of society which every reflecting man must foresee, can end only by its downfall.

The Events of 1837

By 1837 the administration of Bond Head had grown so obviously corrupt that Mackenzie and his followers lost all patience. They devised a plan for the liberation of Upper Canada. Similar movements were afoot in Lower Canada and, when rebellion broke out there, most of the British soldiers were moved from Toronto and other parts

of Upper Canada to fight the rebels under Louis Joseph Papineau.

Unfortunately for Mackenzie, everything that could go wrong with his plan went wrong. In the first place, there was a dispute about the proper time to strike. Some favoured an immediate assault on Toronto while the British troops were away. Others preferred to wait for all the rebels to assemble near the city. Had the attack come early, it is possible that Upper Canada might have fallen, if only temporarily, to the rebels. However, there was a delay and problems arose. Farmers swarmed to the city to join in the insurrection but when they heard of the rebels' first defeat, they returned to their homes thinking their cause lost. In fact, their cause was only lost because they did not stay to give Mackenzie the reinforcements that he needed. There was also confusion about the day of the surprise attack. Colonel Von Egmond, an experienced soldier in the Napoleonic Wars and by far the most able rebel military leader, was only half way from Goderich, Ontario, when the battle broke out. He had been falsely told of the date of the rebellion and the loss of his expertise was a serious blow to the rebel hopes.

The Wake of the Rebellion

Errors of this kind not only lost the rebellion for Mackenzie; they lost him the sympathy of historians and Canadians in general. Too often, the Rebellion of 1837 has been laughed off as the comic actions of a group of foolish and misguided men. In fact, despite their defeat, the actions of the farmers in the rebellion are as worthy of esteem as any acts of violence can be. They did

not fight for conquest or from hatred of a nation, class or race. They fought to secure the simple rights of citizenship that we now take for granted. Unfortunately, in doing so, several lives were lost.

We should not, of course, believe that all the colonial pioneers supported the rebels. Indeed, many of those who left records did not. Some of them simply did not believe that the situation in Upper Canada warranted armed rebellion. Others believed that the rebels were lower-class people who had been infected by American ideas of democracy.

One such colonist was Thomas Carr who wrote, in his *Comments on Upper Canada*:

... The proximity of these provinces to the United States is one cause of our agitation and discontent ... presenting an extensive frontier to the United States, new opinions about politics have been introduced from that great manufactory of such commodities; and many native Americans, settling among us, have doubtless imported with them a prejudice against G. Britain which, among the lower classes of the United States' citizens, has, ever since the revolution, descended from father to son. ...

The condition of British settlers is another cause of our disturbances. A great majority of them has arisen out of the lowest and most discontented classes in Great Britain and Ireland, and many of them radicals from the manufacturing districts. They arrive here poor, ignorant, most of them totally destitute of all political knowledge, and many of them prejudiced in favour of radicalism.

Anne Langton, whose letters and notes have been collected under the title, *A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada*, was another colonist not in favour of the rebels. She wrote:

There is no doubt a strong party of what are called Radicals at home, men who, justly perhaps complaining of one grievance, have other imaginary ones put into their heads; but those who call themselves Radicals here are in truth republicans, mostly Yankees, and they are both few in number and of little influence. These two parties coalesced in a great measure in the late parliament and were formidable, but when the true views of the Radicals became apparent, viz. shaking off the "baneful domination" as Hume called it, all men of whatever principles who wished to maintain the connexion with Great Britain united and gave the so-called Radicals a most signal defeat, caring little for the local politics of the candidate, provided he were a staunch constitutionalist. I am convinced that there are 99 constitutionalists to 1 Radical in the province. What your English prints make of our rebellion I do not know, but the fact that Mackenzie had never 500 men in arms in the Home District and those were of the lowest rabble with few exceptions, and seemed more bent upon plunder than anything else. A few shots dispersed them and the projected rising in the London district never took place. And this would have ended this mighty rebellion but for the kind offices of our neighbours over the water. I am far from approving of the conduct of Sir Francis Head in allowing the insurgents to meet with arms and drill.

The English immigrant is not popular in Canada. Professor Mavor has an advertisement cut from a local paper asking for workmen, and which states that no English need apply. Scotsmen, Welshmen and Scandinavians are the favourites, pretty much in order given.
Keir Hardie

within four miles of the capital unmolested, but if he did allow it as a test of the loyalty of the province, as he asserts, certainly the result was most convincing. Not all the hopes even of plunder could draw 500 men to Mackenzie's standard, while almost every male inhabitant was in arms the moment the news of the insurrection reached them. Be it remembered that there was not one single soldier in the province.

Mackenzie was a man of conviction and great intensity. His political beliefs reflected a combination of American republicanism (although he firmly rejected any notion of joining the United States) and English liberalism:

Government is founded on the authority, and is instituted for the benefit, of a people; when, therefore, any Government long and systematically ceases to answer the great ends of its foundation, the people have a natural right given them by their Creator to seek after and establish such institutions as will yield the greatest quantity of happiness to the greatest number.

Mackenzie as a man of action was constantly urging people to unite and try to redress their grievances. The following call in the *Colonial Advocate* on January 12, 1832, almost five years before the rebellion, shows his approach:

We come, at last to the leading question, What is to be done? Meet together from all sections of the country, at York, on Thursday next, the nineteenth instant, in this town, on the area in front of the court house; let the farmer leave his hus-

bandry, the mechanic his tools, and pour forth your gallant population animated by the pure spirit of liberty; be firm and collected — be determined — be united — never trifle with your rights; show by your conduct that you are fit for the management of your domestic affairs, ripe for freedom, the enlightened subjects of a constitutional Sovereign, and not the serfs of a Muscovite, or the counterpart of a European mob! Strive to strike corruption at its roots; to encourage a system calculated to promote peace and happiness; to secure as our inheritance the tranquil advantages of civil and religious freedom, general content, and easy independence. Such a connection as this with our parent state would prove long and mutually beneficial; but if the officials go much farther they will drive the people mad.

The rebellion was not a total failure. Soon afterwards the English Crown, alarmed by Bond Head's incompetence and fearful of a second successful attempt, sent Lord Durham to inquire into the colonists' complaints. His recommendations were profoundly disturbing to French Canadians, whose culture he wished to erase. But his report at least enabled the colonies to win a measure of responsible government — the most important step towards full parliamentary democracy.

The Scots

The history of Scotland is a long and proud one. The people of Scotland are descended from a mixture of Picts, Scots, Britons and Angles who united and survived as an independent nation for a thousand years until Scotland was united with England in 1707. Even after this union, a number of Scots continued to fight for an independent Scotland. They were finally defeated at the Battle of Culloden in 1746. The fall of the Jacobite rebels (supporters of King James or, in Latin, Jacobus) at Culloden marked the end of a free Scotland. It was also the beginning of a movement that was to drive many Scottish people to Canada during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Scottish resistance to union with England was based on a variety of factors. The most important, of course, was Scottish nationalism and pride in their heritage. In addition, there were religious, social and economic factors.

The Clan System

The Scots were a tribal people. The clans to which all Scots belonged formed the basis of social life and political loyalty. The traditional Scottish chieftains and lairds were paternalistic leaders of a broad extended family with traditional lands and a common lineage. The clans of the Scottish Highlands were particularly well-known for their hardiness and fierce devotion to the clan, which made them warriors of great repute.

Dr Johnson on his Scottish tour thoughtfully scrutinized the bookshelves of his hosts for signs if not of culture at least of usefully employed literacy. He was pleasantly surprised. The clansmen had more and better books than he expected.

John Kenneth Galbraith

The Battle of Culloden

Even at the time of the Roman invasion under Julius Caesar, the Scots resisted the full onslaught of the great Roman legions. As a result, the Scots' way of life was unchanged by the civilizing influence of the Romans. However, it was inevitable that eventually the ancient traditions of Scotland would fall before the new technology, economic system and military organization of the English.

Steps to Union

The first step towards union came in 1603 when King James VI of Scotland left his homeland to become James I of England and reign over the two still independent nations. A little more than a century later, after England had endured two revolutions and an eleven-year period as a republic under Oliver Cromwell, the Stewarts, descendants of James I, were finally ousted from the throne and it passed to the German line established by King George I.

Obstacles to Union

The union between Scotland and England might well have been beneficial to both countries from the beginning had it not been for their radical differences in life style and the overwhelming economic superiority of the English. In addition, the Scots were divided from the English by religion. Those Scots who had accepted the Protestant cause did not belong to the Anglican church but to their own Presbyterian church. More important, many Scots had refused to abandon the Roman Catholic faith and lived in fear of repression for their religious convictions.

The clan system was also a source of difficulty for it did not fit

Abolition and Proscription of the Highland Dress, 1745

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That from and after the First Day of August, One thousand seven hundred and forty seven, no Man or Boy within that Part of Great Britain called Scotland, other than such as shall be employed as Officers and Soldiers in His Majesty's Forces, shall, on any Pretence whatsoever, wear or put on the Clothes commonly called Highland Clothes (that is to say) the Plaid, Philebeg, or little Kilt, Trowse, Shoulder Belts, or any Part whatsoever of what peculiarly belongs to the Highland Garb; and that no Tartan, or parti-coloured Plaid or Stuff shall be used for Great Coats, or for Upper Coats; and if any such Person shall presume after the said First Day of August, to wear or put on the aforesaid Garments, or any part of them, every such Person so offending, being convicted thereof by the Oath of One or more Justices of the Peace for the Shire or Stewartry, or Judge Ordinary of the Place where such offence shall be committed, shall suffer Imprisonment, without Bail, during the Space of Six Months, and no longer; and being convicted for a second offence before a Court of Justiciary, or at the Circuits, shall be liable to be transported to any of His Majesty's Plantations beyond the Seas, there to remain for the Space of Seven Years.

well with the new society emerging in the southern part of the island. The Scots were regarded by the English as little more than barbarians especially those from the Highlands.

The effects of the Industrial Revolution were also felt in Scotland. The textile mills that were springing up in England in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries needed large amounts of wool. The Highlands were well suited to raising

Such a Parcel of Rogues in a Nation

This song embodies the anti-Union feeling of Scotland during the eighteenth century. The charge of corruption made here against the majority of the Scottish Parliament who "treasonably sold us for English gold," is repeated again and again in Jacobite songs.

Fareweel to a' our Scottish fame,
Fareweel our ancient glory,
Fareweel ev'n to the Scottish name,
Sae famed in martial story.
Now Sark runs o'er the Solway sands
And Tweed runs to the ocean,
To mark where England's province
stands;
Such a parcel of rogues in a nation.

What force or guile could not subdue,
Through many warlike ages,
Is wrought now by a coward few,
For hireling traitor's wages.
The English steel we could disdain,
Secure in valour's station,
But English gold has been our bane;
Such a parcel of rogues in a nation.

O would, or I had seen the day
That treason thus could sell us,
My auld gray head had lain in clay,
Wi' Bruce and loyal Wallace!
But pith and power, till my last hour
I'll make this declaration:
We're bought and sold for English gold:
Such a parcel of rogues in a nation.

sheep. But the Scots did not want to raise sheep for the English. Their land was almost as sacred to the Scottish people as their loyalty to their traditional leaders. It had been used for centuries as agricultural land for raising animals and planting crops. The Highland farmers or crofters constantly lived on the edge of poverty but they were determined to keep their lands and their old ways.

However, they were forced off

Lord Selkirk naming Kildonan in his ill-fated Red River Settlement, 1817. Eventually this settlement became the city of Winnipeg.



Thomas Douglas, Lord Selkirk (1771-1820)

Thomas Douglas was born at St. Mary's Isle, Scotland, on June 20, 1771 and was educated at Edinburgh University. He became the fifth Earl of Selkirk at a time when there was great unrest and disturbances in the Highlands of Scotland. He started a program to encourage evicted crofters to emigrate to British North America. His first colony was established in Prince Edward Island in 1803. He was similarly involved with establishing the colony of Baldoon on Lake St. Claire in Upper Canada. However, he is most remembered in Canada for his settlement in the Red River Valley, in what is present-day Manitoba.

As part of his plans to establish a colony he acquired the financial control of the Hudson's Bay Company and in turn obtained from the company 18 225 000 hectares of land in the Red

River Valley. In 1811, he sponsored a party of settlers under Miles MacDonell, and a second group in 1812. These people established themselves near the site of the present-day city of Winnipeg. They were the first colonists in the northwest.

From the outset Selkirk was primarily interested in helping the destitute groups in Scotland. However, the hostility of the Northwest Company towards his plans for colonization created problems. The Nor'Westers, who depended on the fur trade for their livelihood, opposed any settlement. On two occasions they forced the settlers from their homes and, finally, on June 19, 1816 a miniature battle took place at Seven Oaks between the Nor'Westers and the Selkirk settlers. At that time Robert Semple and 20 of his settlers

Robert Burns (1759-1796)

The son of a poor farmer, Robbie Burns became one of Scotland's national figures. He was a romantic poet who expressed simple ideas and sentiments in his lyrics such as "Auld Lang Syne" and "Flow Gently Sweet Afton". He also wrote with the jaunty gaiety, boisterous humour and harsh sense of reality that characterized many ordinary folk in Scotland.

Three Jolly Beggars

A fig for those by law protected!
Liberty's a glorious feast!
Courts for cowards were erected,
Churches built to please the priest.

What is title? What is treasure?
What is reputation's care?
If we lead a life of pleasure,
'Tis no matter how or where!

With a ready trick and fable
Round we wander all the day;
And at night, in barn or stable
Hug our doxies on the hay.

were killed. When news of the massacre reached Selkirk he was on his way to Red River from Upper Canada with a force of the standard soldiers. He seized the North West Company's headquarters at Fort William and arrested a number of officers whom he later sent back to Upper Canada for trial. In the following spring he went on to Red River to re-establish the colony and to restore order.

But the issue was not dead. The Northwest Company took legal action against Selkirk and in the court trials that followed Selkirk was defeated and forced to pay heavy damages. He later returned to England broken in spirit and health. He died in the south of France on April 8, 1820.

The majority of you from Scotland? Ah, then that explains the bounding prosperity of your city and your Dominion.
Keir Hardie

the land when their own chieftains, often because of immense debts, sold the land. The crofters had to leave if they were not to starve. Many moved to the new industrial towns and many emigrated.

After the last threads of Scottish resistance under Bonnie Prince Charlie (1720-1788) were broken in 1746 the English started a policy of severe repression of Highland customs.

This in turn was followed by what is generally known as the Highland Clearances.

The Highland Clearances

The Clearances began as early as 1746 when the warrior society of Scotland fell. The Highland chieftains were stripped of their traditional powers and many found themselves no better off than a lowland laird or an English squire. Confronted with overpopulation and the meagre produce of a barren land, they imposed money rents on the people for the first time. As John Prebble, a Canadian by birth and a prominent historian of the Scottish people, put it, "their pride alone could not pay the debts of their poverty." Still, imposition of rents and the expulsion of those who could not pay was, in many ways, a cruel and selfish measure. The dispossessed became vagrants and began the trek to the factories of the lowlands of Scotland and northern England. The people were rapidly replaced by the great Cheviot sheep.

Some of the more humane leaders counselled against simply sweeping the people from the land. The first man to graze Cheviot sheep in Caithness, Sir John Sinclair, urged that any change in the Highlands should be slow and due

regard paid to the people. They should be allowed to play a part in the new economy. Greed, however, was the stronger voice and the Clearances proceeded.

Simple selfishness was not the only reason for the Clearances. The evictions were often the result of landowners who thought they were acting in the best interests of the people themselves. To quote Prebble again,

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the indiscriminate and selfish practice of eviction and clearance was transformed into what many landowners believed to be a benevolent plan for the national good. The influence of Adam Smith, and the fashionable study of political economy, persuaded them that if they exacted the maximum profit from their land the majority of the people would ultimately prosper.

Like many schemes of enlightened people, it succeeded only because of indifference to the methods used to achieve what was hoped would, in the long run, be good for the people. As one old woman of the time said,

The clearance came upon us. There was neither sin nor sorrow in the world for us, but the clearances came upon us, destroying all, turning our gladness into bitterness. . . . Oh, dear man, the tears come upon my eyes when I think of all we suffered, and of the sorrows, the hardships and the oppression we came through.

In time, Sinclair's advice was taken seriously. In 1845, *The Times* of London recommended other methods:

What, then, is the remedy? Employment. Give employment to the people. Create employment. Pursue a course directly the opposite in its tendencies to the one now pursued. Do not make employment more scarce by turning the hills and glens into sheep-wilds. Make many yeoman out of one sheep-farmer. . . . Promote factories; surely with water-power costing nothing, and wool at your doors, you can make cloth as cheaply as it can be made in Yorkshire? This will employ your population instead of driving them to Canada.

But many were already in Canada and were beginning to take their place in the new land, Nova Scotia, Ontario and the ill-fated Selkirk Settlement.

I don't know what Canada is but I know what I am. I'm a Scot resisting becoming an American.

John Cornish



Sir John A. Macdonald (1815-1891)

By far the most renowned Scotsman ever to make a contribution to the Canadian scene was John Alexander Macdonald, born in 1815 in Glasgow, Scotland. He came to Canada with his parents in his early youth and spent most of his early years in Kingston, Upper Canada. He was first elected to represent Kingston in the Legislative Assembly of Canada in 1844 and continued to hold his seat in Parliament from that day until his death in 1891.

It would be impossible in this brief biographical sketch to give even a glimpse of all that Macdonald did. He had a vision of a nation spanning the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It was for this dream that he worked throughout his political life.

Perhaps Macdonald did not have the highest code of political ethics and he was, beyond a doubt, addicted to alcohol. But, despite incredible personal grief, Macdonald continued to push for his goals. There can be little doubt that in the art of managing men he had few rivals.

It was for these undying efforts that he was knighted, Sir John A. Macdonald. One of his greatest achievements was the work he did to bring about Confederation in 1867. As the first Prime Minister of Canada he did much to try and unite the vast new country.



Sir Sandford Fleming (1827-1915)

Born in Kirkcaldy, Scotland, Fleming studied surveying and engineering before emigrating to Canada. When he arrived in Canada he was employed by the Northern Railway, but later became chief engineer of the Inter-Colonial Railway. But the work he became most famous for was done while he was employed by the Canadian Pacific Railway. It was he who surveyed the route through the Yellowhead Pass which is now followed by the Canadian National Railway. He was also the first person to demonstrate the practicality of the route through the Kicking Horse, Eagle and Rogers Passes.

When he retired from government service in 1880 he devoted himself to literary and scientific work. He is known as the pioneer of the 24-hour-day system of time reckoning and was the founder of the idea of an intra-imperial system of cable communication.

His role in the development of the transcontinental railway was vividly described in Pierre Burton's books, *The National Dream* and *The Last Spike*.



Alexander Graham Bell (1847-1922)

Alexander Graham Bell was born in Edinburgh, Scotland and spent the latter years of his life in the United States. He and his family emigrated to Canada in 1870 and spent some time in Brantford, Ontario, where he worked on his invention of transmitting speech over a telegraph wire, the telephone. While he was in Canada he patented his invention and later founded the Bell Telephone Company. For his accomplishments Bell received many honorary degrees in the United States, Britain and Canada.

But work grew scarce, while bread
grew dear,
And wages lessened too.
For Irish hoardes were bidders here
Our half-paid work to do

Anonymous

The Irish

Like the Highland Scots, the Irish are a Celtic people. Theirs is an ancient society that has produced many institutions that have contributed to Western civilization. Ireland had, for example, the most advanced medical system in ancient times. About 300 BC the first known hospital in world history was built in Armagh, Ulster. Out of this tradition the Irish evolved a medical service that was known throughout Europe for its advanced surgical skills. In addition, they had an early form of medicare system. The laws of ancient Ireland provided for the care of people who were injured or sick but who could not afford to pay for medical care. Physicians were also protected against what would now be called malpractice suits under the same legal system. This idea of community responsibility for the sick was extended into many aspects of Irish clan life.

Traditional Irish Society

The society of ancient Ireland was not a simple communal arrangement, nor was it like the feudal society in the rest of Europe. It was a society with divisions between social classes but, unlike the rigid class system of Europe, there was a good deal of flexibility in it. The society was divided into six basic categories. But it was possible for a person to rise from the lowest order of society to the highest. Likewise, it was possible to fall from the top to the bottom. Moreover, the ability to maintain one's position or to rise in Irish society was based on ability and service to the community.

The idea of service and social responsibility is a crucial one. With all rights went responsibilities. The Irish did not think in terms of private property or purely personal rights as these ideas were later developed in England and elsewhere in Europe. To the ancient Irish, the importance of the clan or the community came first. Because of this the Irish did not adapt well to some of the ideas of modern society. As the great social critic of the last century, Frederick Engels, remarked,

Professors of political economy and jurists complain of the impossibility of importing the idea of modern private property to the Irish farmers. Property that has only rights and no duties is absolutely beyond the ken of the Irishman. No wonder that so many Irishmen who are suddenly cast into one of the great cities of England and America, among a population with entirely different moral and legal standards, despair of all morals and justice, lose all hold and become an easy prey of demoralization.

The similarity between the traditional people of Ireland and the traditional people of America — the native Indians and Inuit — should be clear. In both cases, adjustment to the modern world has brought hardship and the burden of social prejudice.

St. Patrick (c. 385-461)

St. Patrick was a Christian missionary whose life is shrouded in legend. Even the dates of his birth and death are uncertain.

It is commonly believed that St. Patrick was born in Wales. He was captured and held in Ireland against his will, but he escaped to Gaul. There he studied and eventually returned to Ireland to convert the pagans to Christianity. By the time he retired from his work and his post as Archbishop of Armagh in 457, Ireland was a Christian country.

His feast day, March 17, is regarded as a national day of celebration by Irish people all over the world. The legendary liberation of Ireland from pestilence by St. Patrick is remembered and his day is associated in many people's minds with the integrity of Irish culture and, often, political independence.

Struggle for Independence

The social order of Ireland, however, was slowly crushed by a system imposed from outside the country. Beginning in the middle of the twelfth century, invaders arrived on Irish shores. This started what is undoubtedly the longest struggle for national independence in recorded history. For eight centuries the rulers of England have controlled Ireland to one degree or another. This foreign rule has given rise to many rebellions and as many legal attempts to win independence for Ireland.

Remember still through good and ill
How vain were prayers and tears,
How vain were words till flashed the
swords
Of the Irish Volunteers.

Thomas Davis

Irish Social Structure

The Chiefs

This was the highest class in ancient Ireland. There were a wide variety of chiefs ranging from local clan chiefs to the Ard Ri — the High King of Ireland. By Irish law, all chiefs were elected. The chief was the chairman of clan assemblies, commander of troops in battle and normally a judge in the public courts.

The Professional Classes

This group included the Druids, the Brehons (those skilled in the law), the Ollamhs (the chief jurors), doctors and others who filled the roles of historians, educators and scientists.

The Flaith

The flaith was a public officer elected by the people in each community. The members of this group were expected to administer the wishes of the local assembly. Among their duties were maintaining roads and bridges, collecting taxes and fines, supervising hospitals, orphanages and the *Bruighen* (the public hostel). In addition, the flaith maintained the public mill and public fishing nets, arranged entertainment for visiting dignitaries and served as quartermaster general for the army in time of war.

The Ceile

This group was the backbone of Irish society. It consisted of independent farmers who worked a plot of land, paid taxes and served in the army in time of war. The ceile also voted in elections for local assemblies to govern the clan.

The English Presence

We will only examine the issue from about 1650. It was about that time that England tried to end the Irish problem once and for all by sending loyal English subjects to settle in the troubled island. They were given legal title to vast tracts of Irish land and the native people were reduced to tenant farmers and labourers.

The Sencleithe

This social level consisted of house servants or herdsmen who were born in the territory but who had no political rights. They were allowed to live and work where they wished but were not full members of the clan.

The Bothach

Like the sencleithe, the bothach lacked full status in the clan. They were allowed to work, however, and normally earned a living as crofters or cowherds.

The Fuidhir

This was the lowest class. It consisted of people who were in constant rebellion against their clan, cowards who had deserted the clan in time of crisis, prisoners of war and hostages. They were a convict class in a nation with no prisons. As one commentator put it: "The humanism of Celtic society was against taking away the physical freedom of the offender, preferring simply to prevent the offender from being elected to any position of leadership in the society until he had redeemed himself." It is interesting to note that St. Patrick, the patron saint of Ireland, was a fuidhir, having been taken prisoner in his native land of Wales.

Many of the alien landlords merely took possession of the land but never physically moved to Ireland. They appointed employees to look after their interests. Many made handsome profits from their land and, with some noble exceptions, allowed the people to live in misery and poverty. It is ironic to note that the word "tory," which today means member of the Conser-

vative Party, originated in County Kildare during the middle of the seventeenth century. At that time, bands of peasant guerrillas from time to time fought openly against the alien landlords and were known by the Irish word, "toridhe." From that time it referred to anyone who defended rural interests against the onslaught of industrial society.

The Irish Question

Insurrections occurred regularly in Ireland. In 1798, there was an uprising in which the Irish tried to unite with the French revolutionaries in a common front against the English. At this time, too, the Irish population was increasing so fast that it was almost half the size of the English population. These growing numbers of Irish were seen as a potential threat to England.

Many Englishmen felt that the Irish might soon be strong enough to wage a more serious war of independence against the Crown. The English began to look for an answer to the Irish question. Some leading statesmen believed that the answer was to guarantee tolerance for the Roman Catholic religion. Some felt that the Irish ought to be allowed to run their own internal affairs. This group urged a policy of Home Rule for Ireland. However, these measures were only pursued half-heartedly. The answer to the Irish question came through a natural disaster, a great famine in the late 1840s. The Irish potato famine reduced the Irish population by half. Of those who survived, many emigrated and tried to rebuild their lives in Canada or the United States. Many others simply died of starvation.

If they do not win the fight, at least they deserve to win.

Peadric Pearse, Dublin, 1916

A cartoon showing the wretched condition of people bound for emigration, 1832.

Emigration

The Irish who arrived in Canada faced many immediate problems. Because of their religion they met discrimination of all kinds. It was common, for example, to see advertisements for employment or housing with the phrase, "No Irish need apply." Still, they had little choice but to flee their stricken homeland if they could and tens of thousands arrived in the New World.

Having little money and little education, the Irish found themselves on the bottom of the social ladder in North America. They took whatever work was open to them. They found jobs in mines, on work gangs building canals and railways and in a variety of other unskilled jobs.

Oscar Handlin, in his important historical work, *The Uprooted*, noted that,

Emigration took these people out of traditional, accustomed environments and replanted them in strange ground, among strangers, where strange manners prevailed. The customary modes of behaviour were no longer adequate for the problems of life were new and different. With old ties snapped, men faced the enormous compulsion of working out new relationships, new meanings to their lives, often under harsh, and hostile circumstances.

Hardship

The Irish famine was accompanied by the rebellion of 1848. At that time, the population of Ireland numbered about 8 000 000. Through death and emigration, by 1851 the population had decreased to only 6 500 000. Many of those who left Ireland came to Canada and were



described as "probably the most diseased, destitute and shiftless that Canada has ever received." It is a little known but important fact that in Hamilton and in the St. Lawrence River area there were reserves for the Irish with cholera sheds where the immigrants, too ill to carry on, were simply left to die.

It is not surprising that many arrived sick or dying when we consider a typical example of life aboard ship in 1847:

in almost every boat were clearly marked cases of actual fever, in some were deaths — the dead and the living huddled together — sometimes the crowds were stowed in open barges and towed after the steamer standing like pigs upon the deck of a Cork and Bristol packet. I have [seen] the Emigrant Agent on his visit of duty to inspect the steamer on her arrival stagger back like one struck, when first meeting the foetid infection exhaled from between her decks.

S.E. de Vere

Irish immigrants coming to Canada in the hold of a ship.

**West Gwillimbury,
County of Simcoe,
Canada West,
January 6, 1855**

To my nephew John Long,

Having a desire to talk to you to let you know that I am well according to my age. Thank God for all his mercies.

Canada is a fine home for the poor working man. Rich and poor can live well, but the rich must work the hardest. I had to work very hard when I came to Canada. I left Ireland and poverty. I have the best wife I ever saw to make a poor man rich. I gained for and by my labor 321 acres of as good plough land as Ireland or Canada could produce, worth now in money down 4 thousand pounds. How wonderful is the change since I came here. When I came here there were only a few poor settlers in this township, and none north or west of me, no road, no store to sell us anything or buy from us. Now we have the railroads. I can eat breakfast at home in my own house, go to Toronto 40 miles, sell one thousand bushels of wheat and come home to my supper.

Wonderful are the blessings we enjoy here. My door was not locked or barred these twenty years, nor has any man a lock to his barn though his granary be full of wheat the year round. I did not hear of six pence worth stole these 30 years except a horse or two. This is a strange time and the best I ever saw. The summer was entirely dry to the first of Sept., then a little dry to the first of Dec. The snow fall held to the first of Jan. It is now entirely bare ground, cattle feeding on the grass what I never saw before in Canada. The last crops are good and the price double what it used to be.

We have great peace and great plenty here. If there is anything done amiss it is most generally by an Irish papist. I would rather have a child reared begging in Canada than be son of the best farmer from your house to Charleville. Rich and poor can live alike here at table and all must work. No man need be without 100 acres of as good land as Ballinakill if he is willing to work.

John I wish you or some friend to send a man that would work one or two years, a good man is worth 40 pounds a year. No Irish man is worth that the first year. They must work very hard and steady. A laboring man will get pork,

beef, bread, tea, 3 times a day and potatoes once. Butter and eggs are as plenty as water. The pigs get all the milk. It is seldom used at the table.

When you go to Rathkeale, call into William Cronberry at Barrister Lloyds gate, tell him his daughter died after coming here. Her husband Johnston put out the children, one to me, one to Bob Parker, the rest to others and went off. They heard nothing of him since. If Cronberry would write to his granddaughter Catherine Johnston, Bond Head, County of Simcoe, Canada West and let her know where her friends in the States are, or her father, he would do the desolate orphans service. Andres Cunningham, your old clerk, is our leading Magistrate now. Thomas Parker is a Magistrate. My son is one of the big men. He is a trustee of our school, he is secretary and treasurer to the Agricultural Society and is often sent as judge of cattle to other Counties.

I have bread enough and to share thank God for all his mercies.

I remain,
Your old Uncle,
Robert Atkins
Courtesy: Susan Long.



As discrimination against Irish Catholics was slightly less in Canada than in the United States, many ships that had originally been bound for New York were turned away and their passengers unloaded in St. John's or Quebec City. The latest arrivals in Canada were received with little enthusiasm by the earlier immigrants, the English and the Scots. *The Times* of London described a typical scene at Toronto in 1849:

The quay at Toronto was crowded with a throng of dying and diseased, the living and the dead lay huddled together in horrible embrace. The fever spread with rapid violence throughout Canada and the inhabitants though they were

Tramp, tramp, tramp our boys are
marching,
Cheer up, let the Fenians come!
For beneath the Union Jack we'll drive
the rabble back,
And we'll fight for our belov'd Canadian
home

Anonymous

*reduced to great extremity
through want of labour, fled
from contact with this gigantic
imitation of mortality.*

Many, of course, saw Canada as a convenient stopover on the way to the United States. Many who were too sick to be admitted at New York spent a year or so in Canada to give them sufficient time to convince American authorities that they were, indeed, worthy of acceptance. To quote Kenneth Duncan,

*Of the total migration of 1847,
20 000 or about 30 percent,
were dead by the year's end.
Of the remainder, about
30 000 the healthiest and best
off, crossed at once into the
United States, and Canada
was left with a group of immi-
grants singularly ill-fitted for life
there.*

The great majority of the Irish were simple agricultural workers who were wholly unaccustomed to urban life. Nevertheless, in the words of another Irishman, D'Arcy McGee,

*Never in the world's history,
were so purely an agricultural
population so suddenly and un-
preparedly converted into mere
town labourers. . . . Tens of
thousands . . . were peasants
in Ireland in the spring and
town labourers in America the
same summer.*

In Hamilton's Slabtown and on the flats beside Toronto's Don River, the Irish built makeshift homes and looked for better prospects.

Though their introduction to the New World was brutally hard, the Irish gradually found employment, although they had to face a great deal of discrimination. In 1847, A.B.

Skibbereen

This song was, in all likelihood, written in the New World. It is a dialogue between a father and son in which the father explains his reasons for leaving Ireland. The father tells of his victimization and how he eventually joined the abortive Young Ireland Insurrection of 1848. The son's proud declaration at the end anticipates the growth of the Fenian Brotherhood. One of the first places the Fenians became active was in Skibbereen in County Cork — the birthplace of the father in this song.

"Oh father dear, I've ofttimes heard ye
speak of Erin's Isle,
Her mountains green, her wooded
scene, her valleys rude and wild.
I've heard it is a pleasant place wherein
a prince might dwell;
Then why have you forsaken her, the
reason to me tell."

"My son, I loved our native land with
energy and pride,
And then a blight fell on the land and
sheep and cattle died.
The rents and taxes were to pay, I
couldn't them redeem,

And that's the cruel reason why I left
old Skibbereen.

"It's well do I remember on a cold
November's day,
The landlord and his agent came to
drive us all away.
He set my house on fire with his demon,
yellow spleen,
And that's the cruel reason why I left
old Skibbereen.

"It's well I do remember in the year of
'48,
We all arose with Erin's boys to fight
against our fate.
I was hunted through the mountains as
an outlaw to the Queen,
And that's another reason why I left old
Skibbereen."

"Oh father dear, the day will come
when vengeance loud will call,
And we'll arise with Erin's boys and
we'll rally one and all.
I'll be the man to lead the van beneath
our flag of green,
And loud and high we'll raise the cry,
'Revenge for Skibbereen'."

Hawke, the Chief Immigration Officer, wrote to the Governor-General, Lord Elgin, about the Irish who had fled southern Ontario to seek their fortune on the frontier.

*The wild western Irishman now
goes out to Canada utterly ig-
norant of every useful kind of
labour, and till he gets gra-
dually instructed, is fit for no
employment requiring more
than brute strength. But he is a
singularly teachable animal
and one easily brought under
discipline.*

The arrival of Catholic Irish immigrants also aroused serious religious conflicts in Canada. Mackenzie had been hard on the Orangemen whose conservatism had helped to under-

mine the Rebellion of 1837. It was these same Orangemen who objected to the Irish Catholics settling near their farms and parishes. The religious conflict between Irish Catholics and Irish and other Protestants naturally erupted most fiercely on March 17, St. Patrick's Day, and July 12, the Protestant holiday. Still, there were other dimensions to the quarrel. To quote Duncan once again, "Orangeism, Toryism and the Imperial connection tended to form one complex and Catholicism, Liberalism and pro-Americanism another."

Duncan saw the issue as a purely religious conflict. However, then, as today, religious differences were often a mask for other problems, including the primary division between

A desperate charge of the Fenians
against the British, June 2, 1866.

I'd rather turn one simple verse
True to the Gaelic ear,
Than classic odes I might rehearse
With Senates list'ning near
D'Arcy McGee



middle-class Orangemen and working-class Catholics. It is not surprising, therefore, that it was Irish Catholic workers who were among the first to fight for trade unionism in North America and who were predominant in Canada's first recorded strike on the Lachine Canal in 1823. The Irish labourers were determined to win a decent living and they found themselves involved in many disputes. In 1855, for example, workers on the Buffalo, Brantford and Goderich Railway refused to work when the company failed to pay them. The president of the railway hired about 25 armed men in Buffalo, New York, to attack the unarmed workers and drag them off to jail. If the account in the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* is accurate, Canadian magistrates allowed an invasion of Canada by an armed, though unofficial, American force to enforce a Canadian law prohibiting strikes.

The dissatisfaction continued, although it was usually expressed in grumbling, absenteeism, drunkenness and insubordination to authority. The Irish and many other menial workers had no right to vote in their new land and their protests against their living conditions were usually ineffective because there was no united front. In the absence of strong leadership and clear goals the Irish were unable to establish a basis for political power. As one historian noted,

The spontaneous strike of the Irish labourers was the desperate action of victimized workers in distress. Like the handloom weavers and the framework knitters in the early days of 19th century Britain [the Luddites], the Irish unskilled labourers were no cohorts of revolution but rather the tragic victims of early distress of industrialization.



Sir Thomas D'Arcy McGee (1825-1868)

As one of the Fathers of Confederation, Thomas D'Arcy McGee should hold a place as one of the most important people of Irish descent to make an impact on the Canadian scene. He was an outstanding orator who gave a tremendous sense of national unity to the Confederation proposal. From the earliest meetings at Fredericton to the drafting of the resolutions at Quebec, McGee constantly kept before people the idea of a new Canada.

Born at Carlingford, Ireland in 1825, McGee was a noted writer and poet before emigrating to Canada. Among his works were *A History of Irish Settlers in North America* and *An Historical Sketch of Connell and His Friends*. Once in Canada, he published a popular history of Ireland and *The Irish Position on British in a Republican North America*. Thomas D'Arcy McGee was one of our more colourful Canadian public figures.



Timothy Eaton (1834-1907)

From an Irish farm boy, to a Canadian immigrant, to one of the greatest retail merchants of his era; this is the story of Timothy Eaton. In many ways he revolutionized the methods and ethics of retail selling not only in his day but for generations to come.

On a cold December day in 1869 the tiny store opened on the southwest corner of Yonge and Queen Streets in Toronto. The advertisement in the *Globe and Mail* read "new dry goods business, T. Eaton and Company." In 1869 it was still the practice in the countryside as well as in the cities to barter or haggle for goods. It was considered rather crude for goods to be bought through a straight exchange of cash. The latter part of the advertisement in the *Globe and Mail* shocked a great many people for it stated, "We propose to sell our goods for cash only — In selling goods we have only one price."

People who had been in business for many years scoffed at the idea and predicted that the Irishman would not last long in business. However, Eaton

believed that people who were not good traders usually received a less than fair deal. Further, he felt that many businessmen ended up with bartered items that they often had difficulty selling. Eaton simply maintained that a set retail price that allowed for a reasonable profit was a much better approach to business.

But Eaton did not stop there. A phrase that is familiar to all of us today in advertising is "Satisfaction or your money refunded." Eaton introduced this pledge although he was ridiculed by many of his competitors. The fact that most customers today expect this shows the impact that Eaton had on the retail merchandise business.

Far from going out of business as his competitors predicted, Eaton began to expand from his first tiny store to a nationwide chain of Eaton stores. It was his new business practices as well as fair and honest advertising that led to this tremendous success.

Imperialism: The Moulding of a Nation

Today, the word "imperialism" is usually a term of abuse. People have little or no respect for those who impose their ideas, their culture, their investments and their armies on other nations. When, in the 1960s, the United States took action in Viet-Nam and other nations, the cry of "Imperialist!" was sounded and the American government tried hotly to deny the charge. We should not forget, however, that during its history, Canada has not only been party to imperialism, it was also proud of it.

Probably more than any other political factor, the idea of Canadian imperialism helped to forge an alliance among English, Scots and Irish. By the turn of the twentieth century, it had done much to create a truly Canadian nation. Of course, Canada was not an imperial power in its own right. We were part of the great British Empire. It was the idea of the British domination of the globe that we took pride in. We felt ourselves to be a vital part of the British civilization. Our future and England's future were forever united and the glory that was part of Victorian England was our own. The idea grew among our more ambitious citizens that we were not only an integral part of a great empire; we were destined to become the centre of that empire as Europe slowly gave way to the rising wealth and power of North America. For the most part, though, we were happy and content to be a necessary link in the imperial chain that ran around

I am not one of those who believe that the destiny of Canada must inevitably be annexation with the United States. It is destined, I sometimes say to myself, to become the Russia of the New World.

Benjamin Disraeli, 1846

the world. "The sun," it was said, "never sets on the British Empire" and we were an undeniable part of that golden era.

Imperialism or Continentalism?

The Canadian historian, Carl Berger, has argued that like many Canadian phenomena, the idea of imperialism was a reaction against something else. He claims that it owed a large portion of its success to a book written by an Englishman, Goldwin Smith. Mr. Smith settled in Toronto in 1871 and wrote extensively on the subject of Canada. His argument was simple; Canada should not exist. Alone and independent, Canada would soon disappear because of the ethnic tensions between English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians. Attached to England, Canada would remain a poor backwater constantly relying on the old-fashioned ideas of empire and on empty promises made by an England that was not likely to support us in the long run. Smith thought Canada's best hope for happiness and prosperity lay in a union with the United States of America. Since such a union was inevitable anyway, the best thing for Canada was to settle the matter as quickly and cleanly as possible and get on with the business of participating in the American dream.

This line of argument swept away the complacency of previous decades. The entire concept of Confederation was being challenged and, what was worse, the attachment to England was being ridiculed in favour of an association, indeed a union, with the Yankees. The response was swift and of unexpected intensity.

Goldwin Smith had argued that

Canada's existence was in direct defiance of geographical common sense. The major regions of Canada had much more in common with their counterparts in the United States than with their Canadian neighbours. British Columbia had more in common with Washington and Oregon, the Canadian Prairies with the American Mid-West, Ontario with New York, and the Maritimes with New England than any single Canadian region had with even its nearest neighbour.

To this, George M. Grant of Nova Scotia replied that "man triumphs continually over geography or nature in any form." Given sufficient moral purpose, mankind can exist forever in defiance of what appears natural. To give in would render a great nation powerless and without pride.

Grant objected to union on many grounds and his reasons were eloquently presented. In 1891 he pointed out what would happen if there was union.

The democracy of the United States is too thoroughly convinced of its own superiority to the rest of the world and too sure that Canada must, in due season, fall into its mouth like a ripe plum. . . . three things we would be called upon to sacrifice at the outset. In the first place, our citizenship. Ceasing to be British, we would become citizens of an alien, possibly a hostile nation . . . In the second place, we would have to sacrifice our country. To be Canadian now is to be something more than a Nova Scotian or an Ontarian . . . now, when — after incredible toil and expense and faith on the part of, comparatively speaking, a handful of people scattered over



Stephen Butler Leacock (1869-1944)

Stephen Leacock was born at Swanmore, England, on December 30, 1869. After coming to Canada at an early age he was educated at Upper Canada College, the University of Toronto and the University of Chicago, where he received a PhD. From 1889 to 1899 he was a master at Upper Canada College and was later appointed a lecturer in political science at McGill University.

Leacock was the author of a number of books including *Elements of Political Science*, *Adventures of the Far North*, *The Dawn of Canadian History*, *The Mariner of St. Malo*, *Essays and Literary Studies* and *The British Empire*. However it is not for these works that he is remembered. He became perhaps the best-known humorists in Canada when he wrote books like *Literary Lapses*, *Nonsense Novels* and, probably his most famous, *Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town*.

Although he was known primarily as a humorist, Leacock was also a very outspoken imperialist. He was not only proud of his British heritage but saw Canada as playing an important part in the great British Empire.

May peace and prosperitiy be forever
the blessing of Canada I hope that
Canada may forever remain a part of
the British Empire, and may God bless
you all, and the British flag never cease
to wave over you
Jefferson Davis, former leader
of the Confederate States of
America, 1867

Occupational Groups of People
of British Origins, 1971

	(percentage)
Managerial, administrative and related	5.2
Natural sciences, engineering and mathematics	3.1
Social sciences and related	1.0
Religion	0.3
Teaching and related	4.3
Medicine and related	4.1
Art, literature, performing arts and related	1.0
Clerical and related	18.5
Sales	10.4
Service	10.6
Farming, horticulture and animal husbandry	5.4
Fishing, hunting, trapping and related	0.4
Forestry and logging	0.6
Mining, quarrying, including oil and gas field	0.6
Processing	3.1
Machining	2.4
Production, fabrication, assembly and repair	5.9
Construction trades	5.6
Transport-equipment operation	4.2
Material handling and related	2.4
Other crafts and equipment operation	1.4
Not stated and not elsewhere classified	9.5
Total	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, *Perspective Canada: A Compendium of Social Statistics* (Ottawa: 1974), p. 275.

half a continent — we have succeeded in building our nation's house, it is coolly proposed that we should break it into fragments as if it were a card castle and as if the putting of it together had been merely a bit of child's play on the part of grown babies! How can anyone fancy that such a thing is possible! In the third place, we would have to sacrifice our Constitution.

It is Parliamentary, after the British model which has been imitated by every other free country, whereas the framers of the Amer-

ican Constitution were full of Montesquieu's false notion about the necessity of entirely separating the executive from the legislative. . . . It would take too long to go over the points of difference, one by one, and to show the superiority of our system. . . . [A nation's] constitution is not a coat to be thrown aside for a neighbour's, but the very body which the inner life has gathered round it from the past and the present. This outward form can be slowly changed by development to meet the changing environment



Charles William Jeffries
(1869-1951)

Throughout this book we have used a number of drawings by C.W. Jeffries. Born in Rochester, England, in 1869, he came to Canada in 1879 and spent most of his time in the Toronto area. After spending some time as an artist with the New York *Herald*, he became involved in book and magazine illustration and later became an unrivalled authority on pictorial aspects of Canadian history. From 1912 to 1939 he was an instructor in the Department of Architecture at the University of Toronto and later became president of the Ontario Society of Artists from 1913 to 1919. Many of his paintings are in the National Gallery in Ottawa. Canadian history owes a great deal to this pioneer of Canadian art.

and the growth of ideas, but it cannot be exchanged for another by revolution without grievous — perhaps irreparable — hurt to the nation's life.

Our Conservative Nature

Much of the Canadian antipathy to union with the United States was based on a rejection of specific characteristics of American life. Canadians had become a very conservative people. The ideals of the old Family Compact had been filtering down through the middle classes during the nineteenth century. Many injustices were still to be recognized and demands for redress were still to be heard but they were usually smothered by the manners and morals of proper society. Canadians considered the vices of their southern rivals further evidence that loyalty to the British Empire was preferable to more intimate relations with America.

The Weaknesses of the American Political System

J. Castell Hopkins, writing in 1893, put the case in the following way. First, he argued that American government tended to dictatorship since the president, during his term of office, was "responsible practically to nobody." In Canada "the Governor-General represents the Queen and reigns but does not rule."

Second, the American legislative system encouraged "injuriously and poorly digested laws . . . rushed through without care or consideration." "Corrupt legislation" was practically never seen in the more cautious and cabinet-dominated Parliament in Ottawa.

Third, American divorce laws and loose morality in general were a matter of regret and "an evidence of a widespread disrespect for the sacredness of the marriage-tie."

Fourth, in the United States much



Canada is the mighty tentacle of the
British Empire and I have a right to be
here

Harry Lauder, 1916

of the judiciary is elected. According to Hopkins, this resulted in "the lack of respect" for American judges as opposed to Canadian judges who were appointed for life by the Prime Minister. "The consequence," he said, "is that from the lowest court to the highest, the bench of Canada is admired and respected throughout the Dominion."

Fifth, the lack of respect for law and order was obvious from the normal American practice of lynching and similar outrages. Hopkins mentions "the frightful torture inflicted upon [a] negro who was burned to death at Paris, Texas; the hanging at Burnet, Texas, upon the very slightest suspicion, of a colored girl who was afterwards found to be innocent" and other examples that led to the conclusion that "Canadians can hardly be blamed for disliking and fearing the general national conditions which permit such results."

Finally, the "spoils system" was attacked. In the United States, after each election civil service positions were given to the winners of elections and the previous employees were fired. The motto "To the victor belong the spoils" was put into practice and led to "fraud, corruption and brutality" in government administration.

Arguments for Imperialism

The reasons for favouring imperialism were not, however, merely the result of a dislike for the American way of doing things. There were also positive benefits to be derived from association with the British Empire. At the turn of the century, not only imperialism but racism was accepted as part and parcel of our political morality.

It was commonly agreed that the non-European races — whether native American, Oriental, Negro or any other — were inferior to the white. The assumed inequality between whites and non-whites gave a peculiar flavour to Canadian imperialism. George Parkin wrote in favour of an imperial federation led by the white Dominions and the United Kingdom. Our position in the world had no historical parallel, he argued, "Beside it Rome's range of influence sinks into comparative insignificance."

But our position was not thought to be one of simple military or economic dominance. It was also a position of moral responsibility. Parkin put it this way:

We have assumed vast responsibilities in the government of weak and alien races, responsibilities which cannot now be thrown off without a loss of national honour, and without infinite harm to those under our rule.

It is unpleasant for many Canadians to accept that the unity of the English-speaking people of Canada was founded on the philosophy of imperialism. Still, the fact remains that many saw the Empire as a means of guaranteeing Canada's national integrity. We had been, for many years, a British colony. By the 1890s, we were a Dominion with apparent independence but with little influence in matters of foreign policy. The idea of union with the United States was distasteful to most Canadians even if it would further our influence. The logical alternative was therefore full and active participation in the Empire in the hope of establishing our own integrity and security. Stephen Lea-

Population by City of People of British Origin

Calgary	225 835
Edmonton	221 625
Halifax	173 085
Hamilton	306 955
Kingston	65 480
London	207 950
Montreal	438 500
Ottawa-Hull	270 525
Peterborough	53 540
Regina	65 405
Saint John	85 655
Sarnia	54 620
Saskatoon	58 210
St. John's	126 465
Sudbury	56 985
Sault Ste. Marie	40 305
Thunder Bay	49 325
Toronto	425 295
Vancouver	633 825
Victoria	146 660
Windsor	124 340
Winnipeg	232 125

Source: 1971 Census

cock, perhaps Canada's finest humorist and political scientist as well, argued that if we were ever to escape from the narrow-minded smallness that characterized Canadians in the late nineteenth century, it could only be through enthusiastic involvement in a greater Empire.

What, then, of the British influence in the twentieth century? Until World War II British culture was dominant in most of English-speaking Canada. There were many people from other countries who had come to Canada in the latter part of the nineteenth century. But these people usually either moved to the frontiers or became a small minority in the larger cities. Often, when a group is in a majority position, it will blame minority groups for any problems that arise. Such was often the situation in Canada. The British majority frequently blamed the recent immigrants from Europe

Prince Charles talking informally about the special relationships between the monarchy and the Commonwealth in the CBC-TV documentary, "The Family Prince."



or the Orient for the difficulties that have faced Canada. For example, the Winnipeg General Strike was led and supported by British people who had had trade union experience in the old country. Nevertheless, when businessmen rallied to help crush the strike, they demanded the deportation of those Continental Europeans who, they thought, had brought revolutionary ideas to Canada.

More important, recent demo-

graphic changes have greatly altered the British domination of Canada. Although we still live under the protection of English common law and although our parliamentary system is in the British tradition, our culture is being exposed to a variety of ethnic influences other than British. We can remain proud of our English, Irish and Scottish heritage; but to appreciate Canada fully, we must also examine the other major contributors to our dynamic society.

Summary

British contact with Canada can be traced back to 1497 when John Cabot claimed North America for England. However, there was no real settlement until after the conquest of New France in 1759. With the arrival of the Loyalists, British immigration to Canada began in earnest. From that time until the present, the tide of emigration to Canada has always reflected changing economic conditions in Britain.

The working poor and the middle classes have, in the past, made up the majority of British immigrants to Canada. Along with a willingness to work hard, they have also brought their traditional British respect for individual rights. Many other newcomers were also inspired by the new liberal ideas of nineteenth-century Britain. These people later formed the leadership for the reform and development of democratic institutions in Canada.

The British, whether they were English, Scots, Irish or Welsh, were united by the idea of being associated with the great British Empire. They believed that, in addition to preserving Canada's integrity and security as a nation, the British tie also helped to prevent Canada being absorbed by the United States. British culture remained the dominant force in Canada until the end of World War II. Since that time, our British connection, although still important, has become less significant as Canadians of all origins have begun to create a new multicultural society. Nevertheless, the continuing influence of British people and institutions will remain a fundamental characteristic of our Canadian identity.

Chapter Four: The French-Canadian Heritage



J.W. JEFFERYS ©

What is the heritage of French Canada?

How do French Canadians living outside Quebec differ from the Quebecois?

What factors have enabled French Canada to survive in an English-speaking North America?

What is separatism? What is Quebec's future?



French Canadians can trace their family origins in North America back at least two centuries. In fact, most families have been here much longer than that. With the British conquest in 1759, immigration from France came to an abrupt halt and the 70 000 inhabitants of New France were permanently cut off from their motherland. In spite of the great odds against them, the French Canadians survived and from that original 70 000 the population has swelled to some six million today. The fact that they have been able to maintain a separate French-speaking culture in a largely English-speaking North America has been appropriately termed the "French-Canadian miracle." It is a miracle that can be attributed to the single-minded determination of French Canadians throughout Canada to protect their cultural heritage. This aim has motivated its artists, historians, politicians and writers, each in their own way, to lead the struggle for cultural survival in North America.

French Canada is more than the province of Quebec. Across Canada there are sizeable French-Canadian communities, each of which has developed its own unique culture. The Franco-Ontarians, the Acadians and the French communities of Western Canada have each contributed to the social, economic and political life of the provinces. At the same time, the renewed interest in French-Canadian culture in Quebec today has made French Canada's more isolated communities more determined to survive as separate cultural entities.

Canada is one of the few nations that has more than one official language. But a second language means more than simply another form of communication; it also gives us the opportunity to enjoy a second culture. It would be a tragedy if the heritage of French Canada were allowed to die in North America for it is a fundamental ingredient in a unique Canadian experiment in living together in a multicultural society.

We are *Québécois*.

What that means first and foremost — and if need be, all that it means — is that we are attached to this one corner of the earth where we can be completely ourselves: this Quebec, the only place where we have the unmistakable feeling that "here we can be really at home."

René Levesque

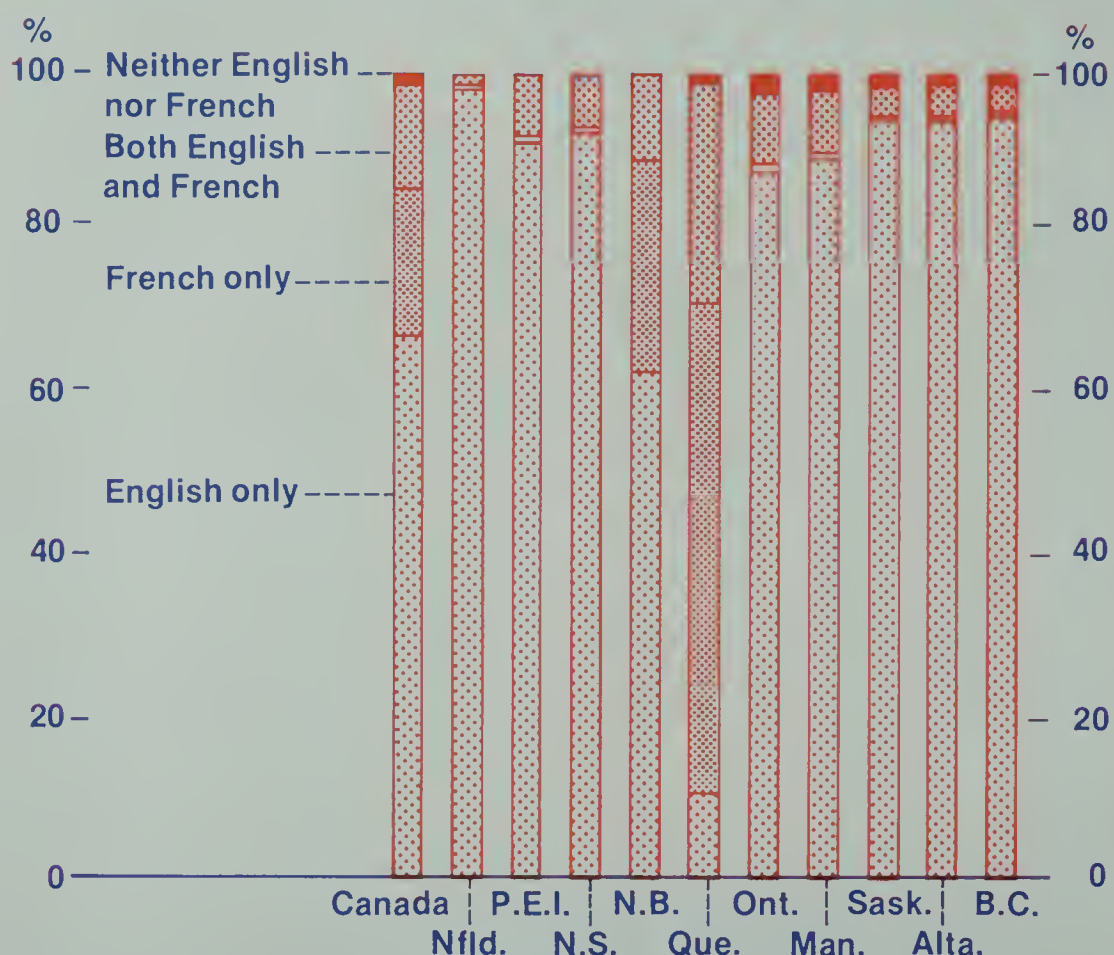
No other single issue in all Canadian history has dominated the political scene more than French-English relations. At different times in our history this relationship has taken different forms, ranging through conflict, competition, tolerance to cooperation.

In this chapter we will consider the French-English relationship and analyze the nature of French-Canadian culture, its origins, and various efforts to maintain it, past and present. By considering French-Canadian culture in this way, we will be better able to understand why the Québécois are so adamant about Quebec's unique position in Confederation and why they have at times demanded a separate state. In addition we will consider the views and struggles of French Canadians outside Quebec.

Trying to understand the way French Canadians think does not mean we will be able to solve the problems, but we may find some of the reasons why these problems arose.

Many Québécois have strong feelings about maintaining the French-Canadian culture. You may totally reject the French Canadians' views, sympathize with them or even totally accept them. But before you react either positively or negatively let us try to determine the origins of this culture that they feel so strongly about.

Population by Official Languages, 1971



Source: Statistics Canada, *Perspective Canada: A Compendium of Social Statistics* (Ottawa: 1974), p.225.

The Significance of the Past

Tradition is probably a stronger influence in Quebec than anywhere else in North America. "Je me souviens" ("I remember") and "Notre maître, le passé" ("Our master the past") are two phrases that show French Canada's attitude towards and recognition of their heritage. But what is it that the French Canadian remembers? "Je me souviens" means that he remembers the struggles, the ethics and the values of

New France as well as the glorious days of French exploration and expansion in North America. In other words he remembers the days before the conquest.

This does not mean that present-day French Canada is a backward parochial nation. Present-day Quebec is very much a modern, industrial, technological society. However, within this modern context, French Canadians continue to see the past as a point of focus. In order to understand this fully we must examine the roots of the French-Canadian culture in North America.

Initial French Voyages to North America

As early as the sixteenth century, French vessels made frequent voyages to the abundant fishing grounds off the shores of Newfoundland. However, it was not until 1523 that an official French expedition was undertaken. In that year, Giovanni da Verrazano, with the blessings and financial support of King François I, arrived on the shores of Newfoundland after having first stopped near present-day South Carolina. As this voyage was not successful in discovering a route to Asia, the king decided against any further exploration until April 1534.

In that year, Jacques Cartier began the first of his series of three voyages to the New World. On his first voyage he was clearly taken back by the harshness of Labrador when he remarked that it must be the land that "God gave to Cain." Although Cartier did not find a route to Asia or riches of jewels and gold, the abundant resources of fish, timber and furs encouraged François I to order another voyage.

Cartier's voyage of 1535 was no more successful in finding the illusive passage to the East. His journeys took him as far west along the St. Lawrence River as the Indian village of Hochelaga. Here he erected a cross on a nearby hill, Mount Royal. It was this hill that later became Canada's largest city, Montreal. With the onset of winter, Cartier and his crew returned to the Indian village of Stadacona (Quebec City) to endure what proved to be an incredibly harsh winter for the unsuspecting Europeans.

In the spring, Cartier returned home with more promises than



riches. However his reports were sufficiently encouraging to keep up the interest in the rewards of the New World.

Early Efforts at Settlement

As France was involved in a war with Spain, further exploration was delayed until Cartier again set out in May of 1541 with five ships of settlers. The bitter winter, the hostility of the Indians, and the failure of Jean-François de Roberval, Lieu-

tenant-General of the new colony, to arrive with supplies and new colonists left Cartier's group disillusioned and discouraged. In the spring of 1542 the colony was disbanded at Cap Rouge, near Stadacona, and they headed for home. Roberval's attempts to revive the colony with a new group of settlers was just as unsuccessful and he abandoned his efforts in the following June.

Because of religious wars, France's energies for the next half

century were turned away from exploration and settlement. Although occasional voyages were made to the New World and fishermen from various European countries continued to fish the waters off Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and the Gulf of St. Lawrence, it was not until the seventeenth century that France was successful in establishing a settlement.

It would be very easy to dismiss or minimize Cartier's contribution to the discovery of the New World. But we must remember that he did map a considerable length of coastline and discovered the major route to the interior of the continent. He also showed the potential abundant wealth of natural resources and made Europeans aware that much missionary work could be done among the Indians.

Samuel de Champlain

In 1603 Champlain made his first voyage to North America. He sailed up the St. Lawrence, which was no longer the uninhabited area it had been when Cartier saw it. By now whaling, fishing and fur trading had attracted many French adventurers who had already started trading with the Indians.

However it was not until his second voyage in 1608 that Champlain founded the City of Quebec as the centre of France's new colony. From here he made friends with the local Algonquin and Huron Indians and started a series of explorations up the Ottawa River, around Georgian Bay, Lake Ontario and even to Lake Champlain south of the St. Lawrence. Both Champlain's friendship with the Indians and his explorations were closely linked with his desire to increase the supply of furs to France.



The Competition for Furs

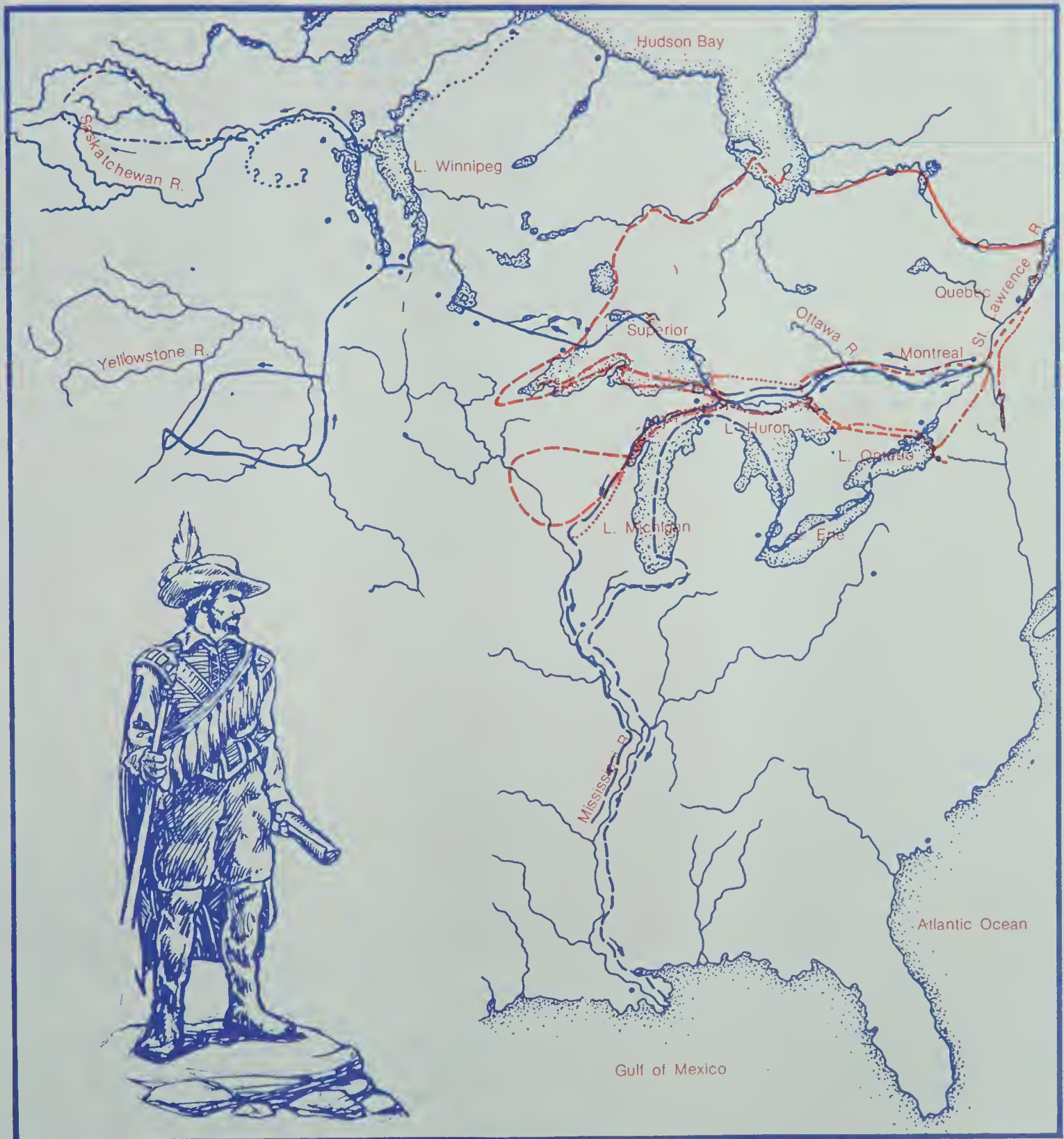
The story of the competition for furs in North America is a tale of bitterness, bloodshed, struggle for survival and adventure. The rivalries among the Indian tribes for the furs and the white man's goods led to tribal wars that resulted in the virtual extinction of such tribes as the Hurons. But the bloodshed was not limited to tribal warfare. The competition for furs also resulted in open conflict among the French, the English and the Dutch which not only affected North America but all of Europe.

Diminishing fur supplies in the

Shield area, combined with competition from the British, forced the French further into the interior. Champlain eventually found that it was better to send young Frenchmen into the interior to make contact with new Indian tribes than to rely on the Indian traders. These men, who became known as the *coureurs de bois*, were the lifeline of the fur trade. They acted as the middle-men in trading with Indians as well as carrying the furs back to Montreal for shipment to Europe.

The free and exciting but gruelling and dangerous life of the *coureurs de bois* is an important part of the French-Canadian heritage.

I am rather inclined to believe that this
is the land God gave to Cain.
Jacques Cartier



- | | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| — Champlain, 1508-09 | Nicolet, 1634 | --- La Salle, 1682 |
| - - - Champlain, 1613 | - - - Radisson, 1658-62 | Kelsey, 1690-92 |
| - . - Champlain and Brulé, 1613-16 | — Albanel, 1671-72 | — La Vérendrye, 1731-43 |
| - . . Brulé, 1621 | — Jolliet and Marquette, 1673 | - . - Henday, 1754-55 |

French Exploration of the Continent

In the intense French-English rivalry over the fur trade in this period, the tremendous amount of French exploration is often overlooked. By the mid-eighteenth century, the French controlled all the territory from the region around Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico and from the Atlantic to the Central Plains region, with the exception of the American Eastern Seaboard.

Although control of the St. Lawrence gave the French a tremendous advantage and the Appalachians tended to hamper the English, this alone cannot explain the great French accomplishments. The quest for the Northwest Passage, the need to push further and further into the interior for new sources of furs, the missionaries' desire to reach the Indians with the Gospel, and the natural desire for excitement and exploration all contributed to the efforts and accomplishments of the French explorers.

We could not possibly describe all the individual accomplishments in this period. The maps show the number and variety of expeditions during this period. From the journeys of Champlain himself and his young followers, we can see how extensive their explorations of the region were.



What Was New France Like?

New France is often seen as a despotic society in which government had unlimited power. It is also frequently called feudalistic, paternalistic and theocratic. However, this puts far too much emphasis on the structure of government and not enough emphasis on the way of life

and the process of government. Let us consider each of these terms in light of the day-to-day activities of New France.

Feudalism:	a land distribution system based on rents paid in goods and services
Paternalism:	a system of government that has a fatherlike control over its subjects
Theocracy:	a system of government under the control of the priesthood
Autocracy:	a system of government in which one person has supreme power

Radisson meeting with the Indians in a winter camp, 1660.

My chief purpose in this is to populate the environs of Quebec with a goodly number of people capable of contributing to its defense without the king having to pay any of them.
Jean Talon, 1667



The Government of New France under the Crown Sovereign Council

Functions

It was the sole governing body in the colony but was subject to veto by the king.

Legislative Power

As a legislative body it made laws for trade, finance and order. All other laws were made by the king in France.

Administrative Responsibility

It carried out all policies and edicts from France.

Judicial Capacity

It set up lower courts and acted as court of appeal.

Members

Governor
(Senior official in colony)

Bishop
(Second to Governor)

Intendant

Responsibility

- power to veto all other officials
- maintain defence of colony
- work out workable relationship with the Indians
- responsible for spiritual needs of the colony and the evangelization of the Indians
- initially third in rank
- but as time passed became increasingly powerful until he not only presided over the Sovereign Council but was responsible for nearly every aspect of life; fur trade, law and order, raising revenue, land settlement and public works

The Day-to-Day Operation of the Government

It is true that the government in New France was originally intended to be highly authoritarian and centralized. It is equally true that New France had no elected legislative assembly such as in the New England colonies. Many of the edicts came directly from France. However to conclude that the colony was autocratic is to overlook many other factors.

There was a Captain of the Militia in every district who was intermediary between the Intendant and the *habitants*. The Captain of the Militia was the official in charge of each district. It became common practice for the Intendant and Governor to call general meetings of the *habitants* to determine their views and feelings. Although the people's views were often different from their own, the Governor and the Intendant frequently complied with wishes of the people.

The 4800 kilometres separating New France from France and the winter freeze-ups greatly delayed communications. Central control from France through the edicts tended to break down with the delays and the colony was much more independent than had been intended.

Seigneurialism: The System of Land Tenure

The land tenure system in the colony was based on seigneurialism. This system was similar but not identical to the feudal system in France. Under the seigneurial system the Crown granted a large tract of land to a seigneur who in turn subdivided the land into smaller parcels that he distributed to the censitaires (the

On receiving his grant of land the Seigneur, bareheaded, without sword or spurs, kneeling at the Governor's door, swore to be faithful to the King.

habitants) in return for yearly rents and services.

In return for his land or seigneurie, the seigneur had to fulfill certain obligations. He had to settle *habitants*, bring the land under cultivation, defend the seigneurie in time of attack, and recognize the government's right to the oak timber for naval construction.

Although the seigneur received yearly rents and services, he in turn had certain obligations to the *habitants*. He did not have the right to refuse land to any applicant and he had to provide a flour mill and a seignorial lower court to decide minor disputes.

The seigneuries varied in size from 2.5 km² to as much as 2500 km², but the average size was about 30 km². One common factor was that the river system determined the pattern of settlement. Nearly all seigneuries were on a river and the land was divided in rectangular lots with the long side running along the river bank.

On the social level the seignorial system was very different from feudalism. In the feudal system there was a rich landed aristocracy who intentionally created a great gap between themselves and the lower classes. The lords and their middle tenants took tremendous advantage of the freemen and serfs, economically as well as socially. This was never the case in New France. To begin with, furs and not land were the real sign of wealth. In addition, the Intendant kept a very close watch over the seigneuries and dealt with any seigneur who attempted to exploit the *habitants*. But in the majority of cases the relationship between the seigneur and his tenants was a very close one.



Although some historians suggest that the seigneurial system tended to destroy initiative, there is no doubt that it gave poor immigrants an opportunity to own land. It also reduced the kind of land speculation that was taking place in the New England colonies. Also, as the holdings ran in long strips from the river, the defence of the colony was strengthened against Iroquois attacks, which generally came from the rivers.

Although in structure and organization there were considerable similarities between feudalism and seigneurialism, the social structure, attitudes, exploitation and relationships in the seigneurial system in New France were not like the feudal system in Europe.

How Paternalistic Was New France?

A paternalistic government is often seen as undesirable. It suggests a control and guardianship that regulates every aspect of life while at the same time reducing any sense of initiative. On the surface it appears that New France was a very paternalistic society. Every aspect of life was regulated. There were fines for single men if they remained unmarried, for charging more than the fixed price for bread, and for men going into the woods for more than 24 hours without a permit. In the town of Quebec, police regulations covered such things as weights and measures, fire regulations, weed control, garbage disposal, wandering animals and the practices of the various storekeepers.

However, if we look a little deeper we find that the *habitants* were anything but submissive. In spite of all the edicts and threats, a

Shiploads of Girls

In order to encourage the growth of the population, on a number of occasions the authorities brought over shiploads of girls to become wives of the bachelors in the colony. This brief description gives us some idea of the scene and the procedures involved.

Several ships were sent hither from France (about 1665), with a Cargoe of Women of an ordinary Reputation, under the direction of some old stale Nuns, who rang'd 'em in three Classes. The Vestal Virgins were heap'd up, (if I may so speak) one above another in three different Apartments, where the Bridegrooms singled out their Brides, just as a Butcher do's an Ewe from amongst a Flock of Sheep. In these three Seraglios, there was such variety and change of Diet, as could satisfy the most whimsical Appetites; for here was some big some little, some fair some brown, some fat and some meagre. In fine, there was such Accommodation, that every one might be fitted to his Mind: And indeed the market had such

a run, that in fifteen days time, they were all dispos'd of. I am told, that the fattest went off best, upon the apprehension that these being less active, would keep truer to their Ingagements, and hold out better against the nipping cold of the Winter: But after all, a great many of the He-Adventurers found themselves mistaken in their measures. The Sparks that wanted to be married, made their Addresses to the above-mentioned Governesses, to whom they were oblig'd to give an account of their Goods and Estates, before they were allow'd to make their choice in the three Seraglios. After the choice was determin'd, the Marriage was conclud'd upon the spot, in the presence of a Priest, and a public Notary; and the next day the Governor-General bestow'd upon the married Couple, a Bull, a Cow, a Hog, a Sow, a Cock, a Hen, two Barrels of salt Meat, and eleven Crowns; together with a certain Coat of Arms call'd by the Greeks *Kepara*. The Officers having a nicer taste than the Soldiers, made their Application to the Daughters of the Ancient Gentlemen of the Country, or those of the richer sort of inhabitants.

(From *New Voyages to North America*, edited by R.G. Thwaites.)

steady flow of young men still went off to the woods to become *coureurs de bois*. The fines also failed to stop the sale of brandy to the Indians. When a well-intentioned bishop chastized the town women for their fashion and hair styles he was quickly rebuked by the Intendant because of the complaints he had received.

New France was certainly not entirely free of paternalism. But it would be absurd to suggest that the colony was submissive and without initiative and spirit. It would be impossible to live in a frontier community and so close to the untamed wilderness without some sense of freedom and independence.

The Role of the Missionaries

We have already mentioned briefly the role of the missionaries in converting the Indians to Christianity by exploring the wilderness. There are many accounts of the early missionaries' commitment and their arduous life among the Indians.

As early as 1615 the first missionaries, the Récollets, came to New France at the request of Champlain. At first Father le Caron and his two associates concentrated on serving the French Settlement. But soon they turned to missionary work among the Indians. Their efforts were concentrated in the Huron country and Father le Caron compiled the first dictionary of the

I had hoped to promote a peace
between the Hurons and the Iroquois so
that Christianity could be spread among
them and to open the road to trade
Gabriel Sagard-Théodat, 1632

Algonquin language. However, the Récollets did not have enough funds to continue their missionary work.

They turned over the work to a highly organized and well-educated and trained group, the Order of Jesuits. As every Jesuit was required to keep a very accurate and detailed account of his work we have many records of the time. The annual reports of their work were known as the Jesuit *Relations*. They described the Indian way of life, climate, geography and missionary accomplishments.

Besides the incredibly hard life the missionaries led, they found it very difficult to win converts. The medicine man, whose role and status was threatened by the new religion, used every trick at his disposal to discredit the "black robes." Every misfortune was blamed on the missionaries. Famine, disease, death and any misdealings by the *coureurs de bois* were immediately associated with the missionaries and often created obstacles and hardships for them.

Naturally the Indians were reluctant to adopt a strange new religion. The Indian religion was simpler and did not place the same kind of restrictions on them as the complicated and sophisticated religion of the white man.

But despite these obstacles and the seemingly impossible task, the Jesuits remained committed to their work. Many toiled faithfully for years in a harsh physical and human environment and in some case died a martyr's death with few converts for their efforts. If we measure the impact of the missionaries simply in terms of the number of Indian converts they would appear to have been ineffective. However, if we take into account their dedication,

The Martyrdom of Brébeuf

Father Brébeuf and his companion Father Gabriel Lallement were captured during the Iroquois massacre of Huronia and tortured to death. This account from the Jesuit *Relations* tells of the tragedy. The fact that the Jesuits continued their work in the face of such adversity gives some indication of their dedication.

As soon as they were taken captive they were stripped naked, and some of their nails were torn out; and the welcome which they received upon entering the village of St. Ignace was a hailstorm of blows with sticks upon their shoulders, their loins, their legs, their thighs, their bellies, and their faces.

Father Jean de Brébeuf, overwhelmed under the burden of these blows, did not on that account lose care for his flock; seeing himself surrounded with Christians whom he had instructed, and who were in captivity with him, he said to them, "My children, let us lift our eyes to Heaven at the height of our afflictions; let us remember that God is the witness of our sufferings, and will soon be our exceeding great reward. Let us die in this faith; and let us hope from his goodness the fulfilment of his promises. I have more pity for you than for myself; but sustain with courage the few remaining torments. They will end with our lives; the glory which follows them will never have an end."

"Echon," they said to him (this is the name which the Hurons gave the

Father), "our spirits will be in Heaven when our bodies shall be suffering on earth. Pray to God for us, that he may show us mercy; we will invoke him even until death."

Some Huron infidels were irritated by these words and because our Fathers in their captivity had not their tongues captive. They cut off the hands of one, and pierce the other with sharp awls and iron points; they apply under their armpits and upon their loins hatchets heated red in the fire, and put a necklace of these about their necks in such a way that all the motion of their bodies gave them a new torture. For if they attempted to lean forward, the red-hot hatchets which hung behind them burned their shoulders everywhere; and if they thought to avoid the pain, bending back a little, their stomachs and breasts experienced a similar torment.

They put about them belts of bark, filled with pitch and resin to which they set fire, which scorched the whole of their bodies.

At the height of these torments, Father Gabriel Lallement lifted his eyes to Heaven, clasping his hands from time to time, and uttering sighs to God, whom he invoked to his aid. Father Jean de Brébeuf suffered like a rock, insensible to the fires and the flames, without uttering any cry, and keeping a profound silence, which astonished his executioners themselves; no doubt his heart was then reposing in his God. Then returning to himself, he preached to those Infidels, and still more to many good Christian captives, who had compassion upon him.

humanitarian services to the Indians, the goodwill they established for the fur traders, and the areas they explored we would have a better indication of their heroic contribution to the history of New France.

The Church in the Settlement

The contribution the church made in the settlements was very different from that of the missionaries in the wilderness. As we have seen, the

church was assigned an important role in the Royal government in 1663. Its responsibilities included the general spiritual life of the colony, the missionary work with the Indians, charitable institutions, hospitals and education.

Successive bishops tried to make sure that the role of the church was not lessened in any way. Bishop Laval in particular worked very hard to extend the influence of the church by controlling the appoint-



ments of priests. He also founded a seminary in which to begin training a Canadien priesthood.

The church was the only source of education in the colony and worked to establish an educational system. By 1694 there were nine institutions of formal education in the colony including two girls schools, four boys schools, one of which was for training in the practical arts, two schools at the secondary level, and one seminary. Education had a reli-

gious orientation but it was also modelled on the classical schools of France.

The various church Orders did much to establish hospitals and charitable institutions to look after widows, orphans, the aged and the needy. The church also supplied the social services of the community, and was a powerful landowner. At the time of the conquest, two-sevenths of the seigneuries were controlled by the church. Whereas

many seigneurs did not develop their holdings as enthusiastically as they might have, the church pioneered new methods of live-stock and developed new varieties of crops better suited to the Canadian climate. As a result some of the most prosperous and wealthy seigneuries were those owned by the church.

The role of parish priest was important although it was often misunderstood. Each seigneurie was also a parish but if it grew in size the parishes might be divided and sub-divided, creating more than one parish in some seigneuries. Each parish had its own priest or *curé* who was the church's representative. He was also a Canadien, at least after priests started graduating from Laval's seminary, and understood the people's needs and concerns. He usually became the beloved leader of his flock, a friend, educator, adviser, settler of minor disputes and, at times, a protector of their rights.

The church played an important part in developing the colony. Besides providing spiritual leadership to the people, it was influential in government, educating the young, and providing social services. It was also a wealthy seigneur and major contributor to life in the local parish. But on some issues such as the brandy trade with the Indians and the fashions of the ladies the church was forced to back down. Similarly any efforts to increase the tithe met with bitter opposition from the *habitants* and had to be settled by the Intendant.

In spite of the tremendous influence of the church in many areas, New France cannot really be described as a theocracy.

The Daily Life of the People

To try and see how the people of New France lived, we must look at three different ways of life: life on a seigneurie, town life and the life of the *coureurs de bois*.

Life on a Seigneurie

The most important person in the seigneurie was of course the seigneur. Although he was not that much more affluent than his *habitants*, he had considerable social prestige and respect both from the *habitants* and the government which depended on him to help develop settlement. In addition, the church gave the seigneurs considerable honour and privileges in their religious processions, ceremonies and festivals.

But the group that really gave rural life its characteristics were the *habitants*. Traditionally the *habitants* are portrayed as backward, docile, submissive feudal peasants. This was, in fact, anything but the truth. The *habitant's* life was very sociable, not that of a lonely bush farmer. The manor house and church were the centres of the close communal life. The *habitant's* frame house with its thick walls and straw-thatched peaked roof was not luxurious but it was comfortable. The fruits of his labour on the land and the game from the nearby forest gave him a good and varied diet. His dress was usually warm homespun clothes with a woollen toque or cap. In the majority of cases, the *habitant* and his family were quite well off. From even this brief description we can see that the *habitant* was not docile, backward, or submissive and was clearly better off than the feudal peasant in France who had to pay homage and dues to his lord.

Life in New France

Gilles Hocquart, the Intendant in 1737, gives a brief description of *habitant* life.

The colony of New France comprises about 40 000 persons of all ages and both sexes, about ten thousand of whom are in a condition to bear arms. The Canadians are by nature large, well-built, and of a vigorous temperament. As the learning of a trade was not regulated by rules [of apprenticeship] and as in the beginning of the colony workmen were few, necessity has compelled them to be industrious. The peasants use the axe with very great skill. They make most of their tools and utensils and build their own houses and barns. Some are weavers and make large pieces of canvas and of a stuff which they call *drugget*, with which they cloth themselves and their families.

They love distinctions and attentions, pride themselves on their bravery, and are extremely sensitive to slights or to punishments: they make great use of spirits, so much that it is hardly credible. . . . This applies particularly to the people of the country. Those in the towns are less addicted. . . . All are attached to their religion. One sees few criminals. They are fickle, have too good an opinion of themselves, which prevents them from succeeding as they should in the trades in agriculture and in commerce. We should add to this the idleness which is forced on them by the length and severity of the winter. They love hunting and exploring and have not the rustic manners of the French peasants. They are commonly quiet enough when governed justly, but they are by nature hard to govern. (From W.B. Munro, *Documents Relating to the Seigneurial Tenure of Canada*.)

Town Life

The life of the town dweller in Montreal, Trois Rivières and Quebec was very different from life on the seigneurie. By the middle of the eighteenth century almost one-quarter of the total population of New France lived in or around these three centres. This included government officials, military personnel, merchants, fur traders and skilled artisans. As the colony grew so did government, resulting in a rather large bureaucracy. It was an accepted practice for government officials to amass considerable wealth for themselves through the fur trade. There was also a system of patronage for minor positions, and favouritism fostered a growing, self-perpetuating and influential bureaucracy.

A second very powerful group was what became known as the "beaver aristocracy" whose primary

objective was of course, the expansion of and profit from the fur trade. This group, combined with the government officials, military leaders, other wealthy merchants and a few elite seigneurs formed a powerful ruling clique. They led a gay and colourful social life, in many ways an imitation or model of the palace life at Versailles. Courtly balls in the Governor's residence, the candlelit Chateau St. Louis, were the highlight of the social festivities.

At the bottom of the social scale were the skilled artisans, shopkeepers and labourers. Despite the demand for skilled labour and the resulting high wages they lived in the less desirable areas of the towns. Initially, the whole community had been very closely knit, but by the mid-eighteenth century there were social divisions based on economic status.

Town Life

An indication of town life in Quebec and Montreal in 1742 is given by the Swedish botanist Peter Kalm.

The men here [at Montreal] are extremely civil, and take their hats off to every person indifferently whom they meet in the streets. The women in general are handsome; they are well bred and virtuous, with an innocent and becoming freedom. They dress out very fine on Sundays, and though on the other days they do not take much pains with the other parts of their dress, yet they are very fond of adorning their heads, the hair of which is always curled and powdered and ornamented with glittering bodkins and aigrettes. They are not averse to taking part in all the business of housekeeping; and I have with pleasure seen the daughters of the better sort of people, and of the governor [of Montreal] himself, not too finely dressed, and going into kitchens and cellars to look that everything be done as it ought. What I have mentioned above of their dressing their heads too assiduously is the case with all the ladies throughout Canada. Their hair is always curled, even when they are at home in a dirty jacket and short coarse petticoat that does not reach to the middle of their legs. On those days when they pay or receive visits, they dress so gayly that one is almost induced to think their parents possess

the greatest honours in the state. They are no less attentive to have the newest fashions, and they laugh at one another when they are not dressed to one another's fancy. One of the first questions they propose to a stranger is, whether he is married; the next, how he likes the ladies of the country, and whether he thinks them handsomer than those of his own country; and the third, whether he will take one home with him. The behavior of the ladies seemed to me somewhat too free at Quebec, and of a more becoming modesty at Montreal. Those of Quebec are not very industrious. The young ladies, especially those of a higher rank get up at seven and dress till nine, drinking their coffee at the same time. When they are dressed, they place themselves near a window that opens into the street, take up some needlework and sew a stitch now and then, but turn their eyes into the street most of the time. When a young fellow comes in, whether they are acquainted with him or not, they immediately lay aside their work, sit down by him, and begin to chat, laugh, joke, and invent double-entendres; and this is reckoned being very witty. In this manner they frequently pass the whole day, leaving their mothers to do the business of the house. They are likewise cheerful and content, and nobody can say that they want either wit or charms.

(From *Travels in North America*, edited by A. B. Benson.)

The Coureurs de Bois

The most famous lifestyle of New France was, of course, that of the *coureur de bois*. The fur traders, the backbone of the fur trade, loved the Canadian wilderness and the freedom and adventure it gave them. They not only adapted to the Indian way of life but, except for the odd piece of European clothing and his basic cheeriness, the *coureur de bois* could easily have been taken for a native.

He travelled, ate, took shelter, and raised his half-breed family as

an Indian. Except for his yearly trip to Montreal with the furs, he lived an Indian life. It was this pagan way of life that drew harsh criticism from the church and was frowned on by the government as the *coureurs de bois* traded illegally and disrupted the settlement pattern. In spite of these criticisms, the *coureurs de bois* were absolutely crucial to the colony. It was their energy, daring, knowledge of the Indians, exploration and capacity for hardship and work that made the fur trade possible. They may have often defied the

The Life of the Coureurs de Bois

The *coureurs de bois* led an adventurous but hard life. These young men would go off into the woods to gather furs from Indian tribes. In many cases they had to make contact with new tribes and persuade them to trade their furs. As they travelled vast distances into the interior they often lived with the Indians and adapted to their way of life.

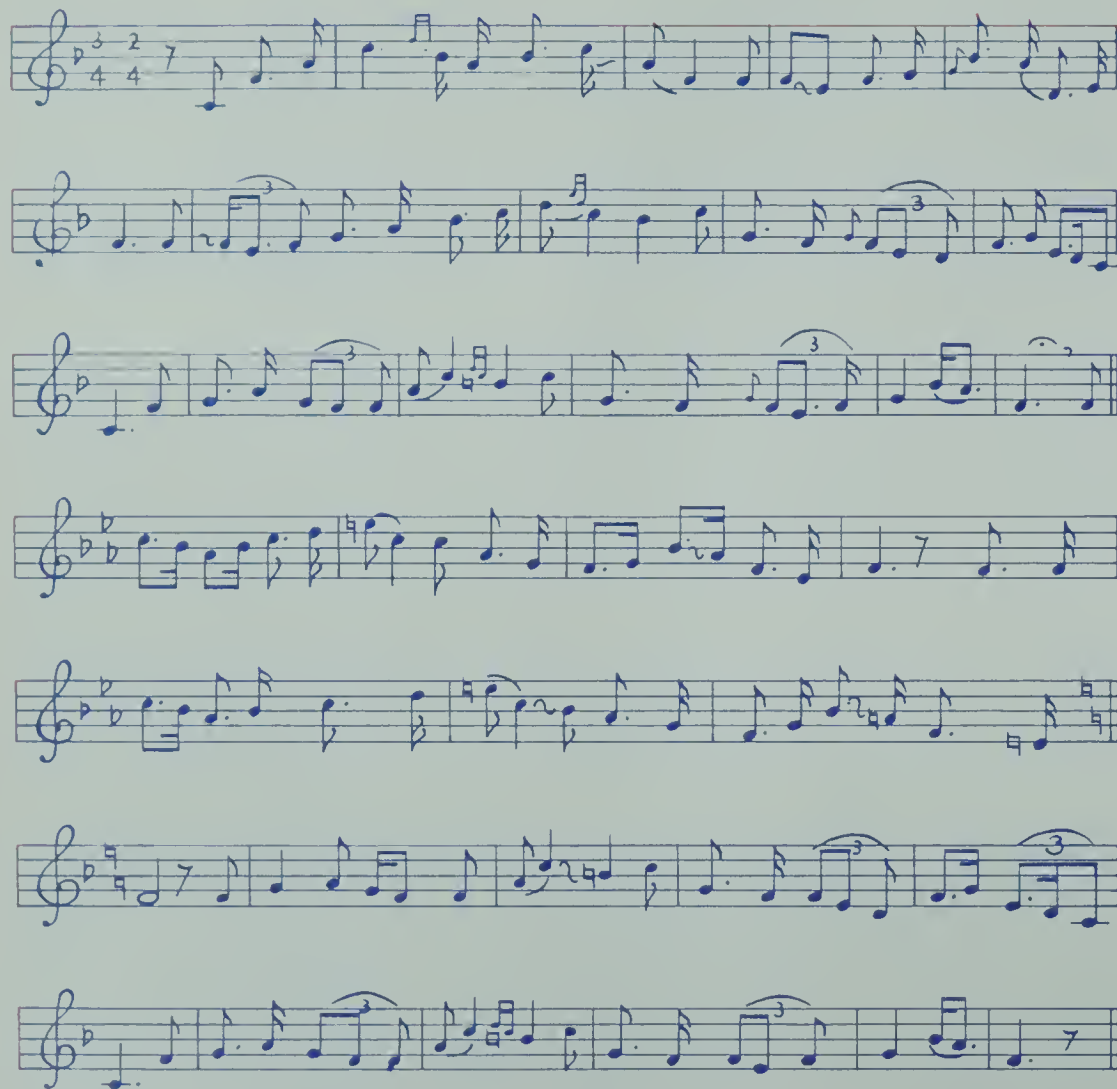
As you can see in the following description, they were often considered uncivilized and lazy.

The Pedlers call'd *Coureurs de Bois*, export from hence every year several Canows full of Merchandise, which they dispose of among all the Savage Nations of the Continent, by way of exchange for Beaver-Skins. Seven or eight days ago, I saw twenty-five or thirty of these Canows return with heavy Car-goes; each Canow was manag'd by two or three Men, and carry'd twenty hundred weight, i.e. forty packs of Beaver Skins, which are worth an hundred Crowns a piece. These Canows had been a year and eighteen Months out. You would be amaz'd if you saw how lewd these Pedlers are when they return; how they Feast and Game, and how prodigal they are, not only in their Cloaths, but upon Women. Such of 'em as are married, have the wisdom to retire to their own Houses; but the Batchelors act just as our East-India-Men, and Pirates are wont to do; for they Lavish, Eat, Drink, and Play all away as long as the Goods hold out; and when these are gone, they e'en sell their Embroidery, their Lace, and their Cloaths. This done, they are forc'd to go upon a new Voyage for Subsistance.

(Description of the *Coureurs de Bois* by Baron Lahontan at Montreal, June 14, 1684. From *New Voyages to North America* Vol. 1, (Chicago: 1905).

rules and morality of the church and the edicts of the Crown but the strength of the fur trade depended on them.

La Plainte du Coureur de Bois



Translation

- 1 The sixth of May, a year ago,
It was that day that I went away
(twice)
On a long and distant voyage,
To lands beyond the bay
Where the woodland people stay.
O how long is the Winter!
O how slowly time passes by!
Night and day my heart does sigh,
Longing for the sweet Spring-time,
The sweet and lovely Spring!
For 'tis the Spring who will bring
Joy to fond lovers pining
For tenderness and cherishing.
- 2 When Spring at last has come to
stay,
The winds in our sails are gay.
Now I shall see my country-side
At Saint-Sulpice far away.
There I shall greet my bride,
Who is the loveliest maid.
Who sings this plaintive song?
'Tis a lad that is young,
Far away from his home land,
Singing it as he walks along,
Chanting the gay refrain:
Farewell, all you savage people!
Farewell, you rocky shores!
Farewell, all misery, all pain!
(From *Folk Songs of Old Quebec*,
by Marius Barbeau. Translated
by Regina Lenore Schoolman,
National Museum Bulletin No. 75.)

1 Le six de mai, l'année dernier',
Là-haut je me suis engagé; (bis)
Pour y faire un long voyage,
Aller aux pays hauts,
Parmi tous les sauvages.

Ah! que l'hiver est long,
Que ce temps est ennuyant!
Nuit et jour mon cœur soupire,
De voir venir le doux printemps,
Le beau et doux printemps,
Car c'est lui qui console
Les malheureux amants
Avec leurs amours folles.

2 Quand le printemps est arrivé,
Les vents d'avril soufflent dans nos
voiles
Pour revenir dans mon pays.
Au coin de Saint-Sulpice,
J'irai saluer m'amie,
Qui est la plus jolie.

Qui en a fait la chanson?
C'est un jeune garçon,
S'en allant à la voile,
La chantant tout au long.
Elle est bien véritable.
Adieu, tous les sauvages,
Adieu, les pays hauts,
Adieu, les grand's misères!



From the time of the first settlement to the mid-eighteenth century, New France had developed a well-established political, social and economic order. At the same time, the difficulties of establishing a colony, the great accomplishments of explorations, the courage of the missionaries, the spirit of the *coureurs de bois* and the fraternity of the *habitant* lifestyle had laid the foundation of a rich French-Canadian heritage.

The Conquest

It is unlikely that any Canadian elementary school student has not at some point studied the fall of New France to the British. To repeat all the events of the Seven Years War and the battle on the Plains of Abraham in September 1759 is beyond the scope of our analysis here. It is enough to point out that when General James Wolfe's forces defeated those of General Louis Joseph Marquis de Montcalm it was the beginning of the end for the colony.

Although in the spring of 1760 the French force from Montreal defeated the forces of James Murray,

French control was never re-established. In early May a British fleet brought reinforcements to the forces marching up from Lake Champlain and Fort Frontenac. These troops were sufficient to force the surrender of Montreal. When Governor Vaudreuil signed the Articles of Capitulation, 150 years of French rule came to an end. Although the war did not officially end until the Treaty of Paris in 1763, French control was over with the surrender of Montreal.

The Significance of the Conquest

Under the Articles of Capitulation provisions were made for those who wished to return to France. Some senior government officials, high army officers and businessmen took advantage of the offer.

The Canadiens, whose homeland was Canada and who in many cases had never visited France, almost unanimously chose to remain. But the people who did leave were in many cases the leaders in government, the military and business. What was left was a largely agricultural population. The key commercial leaders and capital were gone, leaving a vacuum for British commercial leaders and capital to fill and assume control. The French Canadians had to regroup if they were to maintain any sense of community and cultural identification. At this time the seigneurs and parish priests became even more important as leaders.

With the peace of 1763 a new era began in the history of British North America. But it also started the cultural struggle of the Canadiens. No longer did they simply have to fight against the elements. They now had to struggle to maintain their identity.

Developments from 1763 to Confederation

The Royal Proclamation of 1763

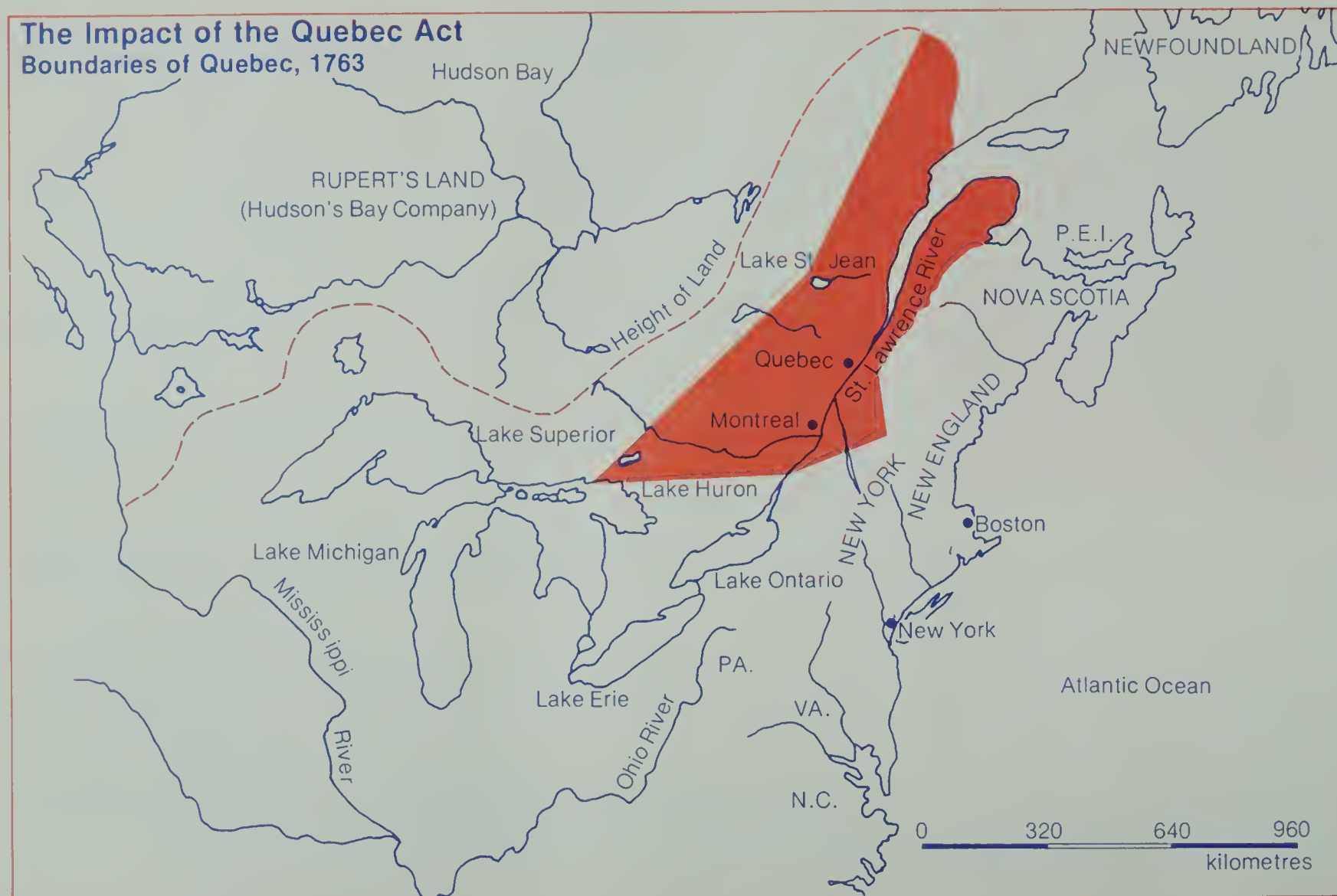
After the Treaty of Paris was signed the British were faced with the problem of dealing with a basically French colony in a British empire. The British embarked on a policy of making Quebec, the new name for New France, a British colony like all the others. But their efforts to assimilate the French Canadians were unsuccessful and it was clear by the early 1760s that there were two populations in Quebec; the 500 British Protestant merchants who wanted to develop a commercial state on the St. Lawrence, and 80 000 French-Canadian Catholics bent on preserving a rural agricultural way of life.

The Quebec Act

Sir Guy Carleton was one of the first people to recognize that the French Canadians were already firmly established in the colony. Carleton, who was Governor in the colony from 1776, suggested that Quebec "to the end of time, [will] be peopled by the Canadian race." At the same time he recognized the increasing friction between Britain and its Thirteen Colonies to the south. Clearly if open conflict came it would be important to have loyal subjects in Quebec.

For these reasons he argued strongly that the British should accept the French fact in North America and that any future plans for assimilation would have to be discarded.

I am ordered by Gen. Washington, to
take possession of the town of Quebec
Benedict Arnold, 1775



It was largely on his assessment and through his persistent arguments that many of his suggestions were embodied in the Quebec Act of 1774.

- total freedom of worship was granted to Roman Catholics;
- recognition of the seigneurial system as well as the free-land tenure was given;
- the right of the church to collect tithes was granted;
- the use of French civil law in addition to British criminal law was guaranteed;
- Roman Catholics were given the right to hold office.

The Quebec Act gave French Catholics in Quebec much greater rights than Catholics in England had at that time. Because of this the British had expected the French Canadians to support the Act. But this did not happen.

The Quebec Act did have some lasting consequences. The fact that it gave official recognition to French law, customs, language and the Roman Catholic Church did much to maintain and foster the French-Canadian identity:

The Constitutional Act

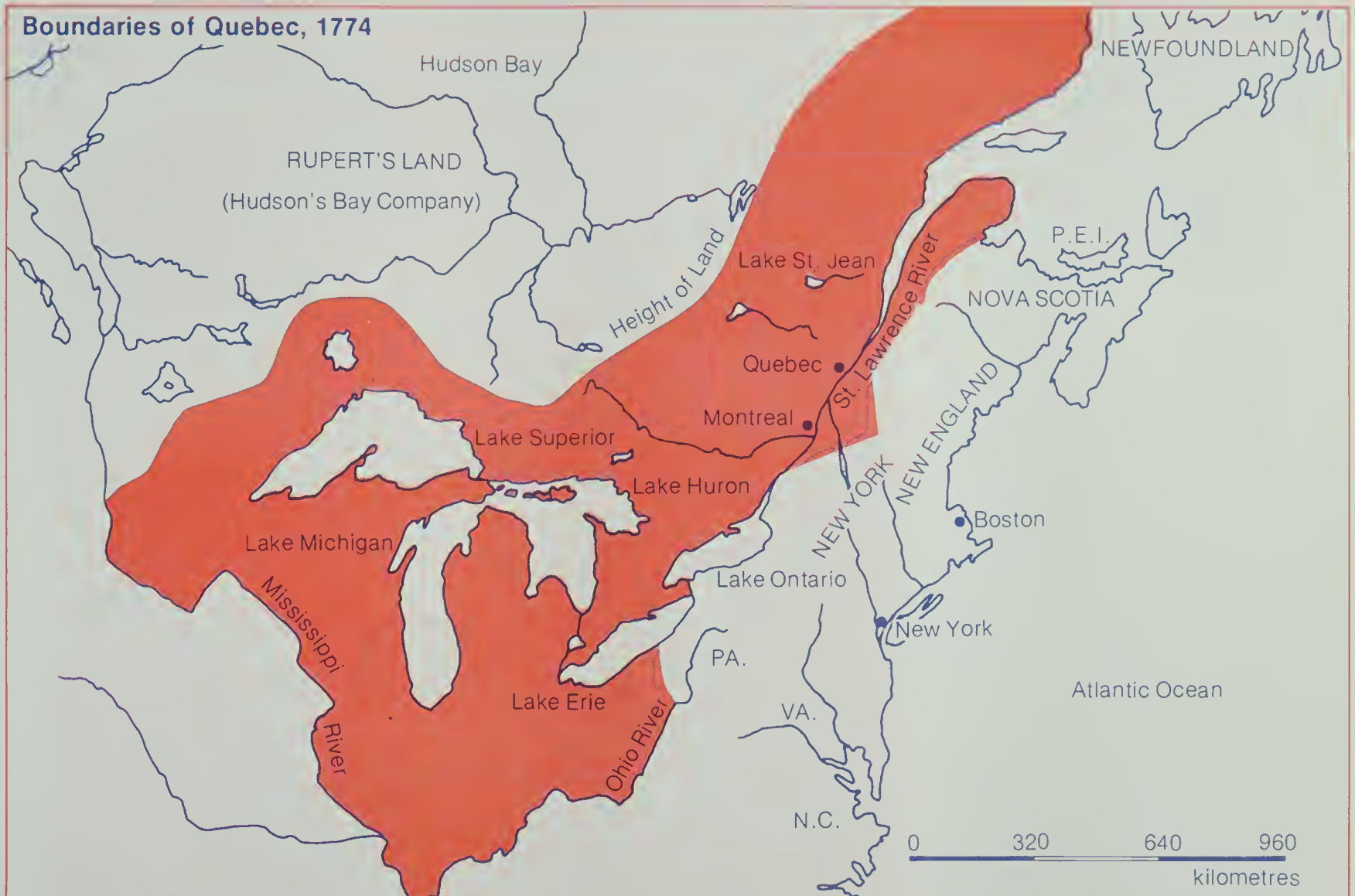
As a result of the American Revolution the British government embarked on a reorganization of colo-

nial governments. In British North America this was to a large extent prompted by the Loyalist migration. It was largely pressure from Loyalists that brought about the Constitutional Act of 1791.

The British concluded that the cause of the Revolution was not Britain's efforts to tax her colonies or her effort to maintain control of the trade and industry. They thought that the colonial legislative assemblies had been given too much power, especially over the finances of their colonies. With this in mind the British government embarked on a policy of divide and rule. If the colonies were kept small they would be less likely to cause trouble. Leg-

If the Canadiens do not come out of their apathy in twenty years, it will be too late.

Alexis de Tocqueville,
1831



islative assemblies were necessary to tax the colonies but their power was to be kept under control. The British government also considered that a colonial aristocracy and an established church would be a useful balance against any republican tendencies.

On this basis, the Constitutional Act divided the colony into Upper (west) and Lower (east) Canada. Each province was granted an elected assembly and there was also an appointed legislative council to act as an upper house like the present Senate. Each province also had a governor who had the right to veto bills. By establishing two separate provinces the British were further

recognizing the French fact and allowing the French in Lower Canada to develop in one pattern and the Loyalists in another.

The Movement to Reform

The reform movement, which eventually culminated in the Rebellion of 1837, was a political struggle between the appointed governor and his councils and the elected assembly. It was not, as is often suggested, a simple racial or ethnic conflict between French and English. But the whole struggle was complicated and further embittered by the racial overtones. This will become evident in our analysis of the issues.

The Struggle Over Finances

As early as 1805 the first signs of conflict could be seen in Lower Canada. In an effort to raise additional funds, the government proposed a land tax that would be borne primarily by the small farmers. This, of course, was supported by the British merchants. However, the Assembly, with a French-Canadian majority, rejected this proposal and passed legislation increasing tariffs on imports and instituting a sales tax. The British businessmen responded by charging that the French Canadians were using their majority to dominate the government. Thus the whole issue took on racial tones from the outset.

I say that we cannot make a hero of Papineau. He died in his bed. All heroes should die young, and not in bed.

Michel Brunet

Louis Joseph Papineau addressing a crowd.

This was followed by a struggle between the Governor and the Assembly over the rights of judges to hold seats in the Assembly. Holding two offices in this way obviously created a conflict of interest. However, the Governor did not see it in these terms and the two sides became further alienated and embittered.

Louis Joseph Papineau

The dominant figure in the reform movement in Lower Canada was Louis Joseph Papineau, a seigneur from a wealthy Quebec family. Papineau was a well-educated and trained lawyer who was an admirer of British constitutional procedures. Realizing that the French Canadians would be able to control the Assembly if they knew how to use parliamentary procedure, Papineau and several others familiarized themselves with the process. This began a long tradition in Canadian politics of excellent French-Canadian parliamentarians.

Papineau also quickly realized that control of the public purse by the Assembly was the most effective means of combatting the Governor and the British merchants who held the positions in the legislative and executive councils. It is true that the Governor had some independent funds but they were not enough to run the government; he also needed the funds passed by the Assembly.

The struggle over controlling the finances of Lower Canada was long and complicated and it was this issue that dominated the political struggle right through to the Rebellion of 1837.

The Union Bill of 1822

In 1822 there were approximately 40 000 English in Lower Canada



compared to 427 000 French Canadians. However, the minority attempted to use its influence in London to push for a unification of Upper and Lower Canada. This would allow for a more cohesive economic system using the St.

Lawrence as a communications route. But even more important, it would reduce the French-Canadian domination of the Assembly.

The result of this pressure was a bill introduced in the British House

of Commons that would result in the unification of Upper and Lower Canada. The bill included a high property qualification that would have meant that many French Canadians would have lost their right to vote. In addition, the Crown would be given complete control of finances. But just as distressing to French Canadians was the clause that stated in 15 years English would be the sole language in the government. These factors, combined with the limitations to be imposed on the Roman Catholic Church, were clearly an effort to assimilate French Canada.

As was to be expected, these measures met with strong and bitter opposition. Committees, petitions and public meetings were called to show their displeasure. French Canadians received support from John Neilson and his group of English reformers who had worked very closely with Papineau and the other French-Canadian reformers. The English reformers were upset by the arbitrary nature of the legislation but even more so by the failure of the British government to find out the wishes of all the people in Lower Canada.

Because of the massive opposition to the proposed legislation, the British government withdrew the bill. However, French Canadians' distrust, resentment and bitterness towards the minority group of British merchants was intensified.

The intense struggle over finances continued until 1834 when the Assembly adopted the Ninety-Two Resolutions. This lengthy list of grievances included complaints against leading officials, the power of the British minority and demands for the Assembly to have full control of the public purse.

Unfortunately for Papineau and his followers, the radicalism and pro-republican nature of the Resolutions alarmed Neilson and the other moderate English reformers. In the subsequent elections the French-Canadian reformers won a stunning victory while the English-Canadian reformers were badly defeated. Despite this apparent victory, the loss of Neilson and his followers did much to reduce the credibility of Papineau and his reformers.

After further strife between the Assembly and consecutive governors, in 1837 the British government took a firm stand and introduced the Ten Resolutions. This document rejected the call for elected councils and the Assembly's total control of the revenue. This rejection of the two key principles of the Ninety-Two Resolutions was an open challenge to the reformers. The talk of open revolt grew.

When the Governor decided to prorogue the Assembly on August 26, 1837 there was a series of public meetings and outbursts in the French-Canadian press. As a result there was a shift of power away from Papineau to other more extreme elements in the reform movement, Les Fils de la Liberté (the Sons of Liberty). This led to a clash with the English constitutionalists in Montreal. The political struggle had now degenerated into a violent conflict between two groups of extremists.

It was shortly after this that the Governor, realizing the seriousness of the situation, requested and received additional troops from Upper Canada. He then decided to arrest the leaders of Les Fils de la Liberté. Papineau and some of the other leaders in turn decided to leave Montreal. This was interpreted as an

attempt to stir up the people in the countryside. When the troops sent to arrest Papineau and others were met by armed Patriotes, the rebellion was under way. After the clash at St. Denis, Papineau fled to the United States. This was followed by two armed clashes in which British troops crushed the rebel forces. The rebellion was over.

What had initially begun as a political conflict over the constitutional structure of power had deteriorated into a violent conflict made even more bitter by racial overtones.

Lord Durham

In the face of rebellions in both Upper and Lower Canada, the British government sent a commission headed by John George Lambton, Earl of Durham, to investigate the problems and arrive at some recommendations. Durham had earned a reputation as a reformer and notable politician in his years of political life. There were very high expectations in all quarters that he and his aides would be able to find some answers to the problems.

Durham's now famous assessment of the situation in Lower Canada set the tone for his total findings and recommendations.

I expected to find a contest between a government and a people. I found two nations warring in the bosom of a single state: I found a struggle, not of principles, but of races.

He later concluded that the French Canadians were using their majority in the Assembly to keep a check on the British and preserve their own nationality.

I have no hesitation in asserting that of late years they [the French Canadians] have used the Representative System for



the single purpose of maintaining their nationality against the progressive intrusion of the British race.

But Durham went further than simply analyzing the political strife. He drew conclusions about the French that influenced the recommendations in his report. The following selections from the Durham Report give some indication of his views on French Canadians:

... The entire wholesale, and a large portion of the retail trade of the Province, with the most profitable and flourishing farms, are now in the hands of this numerical minority [English] of the population ... The great mass of the Canadian [French] population cannot read or write [They] were obviously inferior to the English settlers.

It is to elevate them [French Canadians] from that inferiority that I desire to give to the Canadians [French] our English character. I desire it for the sake of the educated classes.

There can hardly be conceived a nationality more destitute of

all that can invigorate and elevate a people, than that which is exhibited by the descendants of the French in Lower Canada, owing to their retaining their peculiar language and manners. They are a people with no history and no literature.

Lord Durham's view of French Canadians was obviously rather prejudiced and negative. His analysis was based almost solely on their lack of commercial enterprise and their civil institutions, which he considered less sophisticated than those of the British. He was clearly unable to respect a society that was contented with its way of life and not preoccupied with the need for material progress. In addition, Durham placed too much emphasis on the racial aspect of the struggle and not enough emphasis on the nature of the political struggle.

All these impressions were reflected in the recommendations of his report. First, the kind of union that had been proposed in the Union Bill of 1840 was again recommended. If Upper and Lower Canada were combined into one province with one assembly, and representation was by population, the French-Canadian representation would be reduced. Secondly, the report called for a program of immigration designed to increase the English population in the province and diminish the proportion of French Canadians. Thirdly, there was to be an emphasis on public education which would encourage French Canadians to learn English. It is evident from these three key recommendations that Durham wanted to see the British government embark on an all-out plan of assimilation. The following statement from the report supports this conclusion:

I entertain no doubts as to the national character which must be given to Lower Canada; it must be that of the British Empire.

Lord Durham made a great contribution to the development of responsible government in Canada. In fact Durham's report is regarded as one of the greatest documents in Canada's political development. He is rightfully regarded as a great statesman.

However, to French Canadians, Durham seemed as much a racist as a statesman. Although obviously an extremist interpretation of Durham's report, the following comment by Leandre Bergeron gives some indication of the bitter feelings towards Durham and his report.

Durham is an imperialist, a racist and a liberal. He is an imperialist to the extent that the solutions he proposes serve the interests of the Metropolis: get rid of the Canayens and let the English colonialists participate in government to tighten the ties with the Empire. He is a racist according to the nature of his solution for the Canayen problem. He considers the English race superior and sees an opportunity for the Canayens to raise themselves to the level of a civilized people through assimilation. He is a liberal in as much as he grants responsible government to the English colonialists.

The Act of Union of 1840 was a direct response to Durham's report and was a further program to assimilate the French. It would, therefore, be difficult for French Canada to see Durham in anything but a negative light.

If you lose Upper Canada, you will lose
all your colonies, and if you lose them
you may as well lose London.
Duke of Wellington, 1837

The Political Parties

Political parties as we know them today did not exist as such in the pre-Confederation period. There was, in the Assembly, a loose coalition of members who shared certain common interests. In the 1850s in Upper Canada there were two key groups or parties. The majority party was the Clear Grits led by George Brown, the editor of *The Globe* newspaper. The Grits were basically an agrarian party opposed to big business interests and the strong influence of the French Canadians in the Assembly. The majority group in Upper Canada was an amalgamation of the Tories and the moderate Conservatives. Both these groups represented the business and commercial interests of the province. They were pulled together by John A. Macdonald, the Scottish lawyer from Kingston.

In Lower Canada the majority party was the Parti Bleu. These were moderate conservatives led by Georges Etienne Cartier, a lawyer and descendant of Jacques Cartier. The minority group was the Parti Rouge, a radical group of French-Canadian nationalists who were strongly opposed to the big commercial interests.

Both the Grits and the Parti Rouge were opposed to big business interests. But they were unable to work together because the Grits wanted to reduce or eliminate the French influence and the Rouge were bent on maintaining French-Canadian nationalism. Independently they were unable to form the government and their unwillingness to work together left them in the role of the opposition. On the other hand, the moderate Conservatives of Macdonald and Cartier formed a coalition that was able to remain in

power simply on the basis of their ability to keep the government functioning. For this coalition to function, the two groups had to cooperate and set aside long held prejudices. The English had to forget the idea of assimilating the French Catholic society and the French in turn had to stop resisting the English Canadians' desire for commercial development.

The fact that none of these groups was a well-disciplined political party meant that members of the Assembly frequently shifted their support from one group to another. As a result governments fell with regularity. No sooner would a new ministry or cabinet be formed than it would be defeated in the Assembly. The parties became so evenly balanced that there were a dozen ministries in 15 years and there were two elections and four ministries between 1861 and 1864. By this time the resulting political deadlock had all but totally paralyzed the government in the Canadas.

By the mid 1850s the English had become a majority in the total province. The Grits, and Brown in particular, began to demand that equal representation be abolished and representation by population be adopted. The demands for "rep by pop" became the rallying cry for the Grits. This was obviously rejected by the French-Canadian members of the Assembly.

Georges Cartier, the leader of the conservative Parti Bleu, strongly opposed Brown and his call for representation by population.

Did Upper Canada conquer Lower Canada? If not, by virtue of what right can it ask for representation based on population in the aim of governing us? Everyone knows that the union of the two provinces was

imposed on Lower Canada which did not want it at any price. But Lower Canada has carried out the Union loyally and sincerely with the determination of upholding it on the present basis.

The Great Coalition

There were many factors in the movement towards Confederation; the problems of trade with Britain and the United States, the need for an intercolonial railway, threat of annexation by the United States, and Britain's desire to reduce some of its colonial responsibilities. But there is little doubt that one of the primary factors was political deadlock reached in 1864. Something would have to be done. In spite of the personal bitterness that had developed between himself and Macdonald and Cartier, Brown set aside his own feelings and agreed to join forces to establish a coalition government. There were political risks involved for all three men but they set aside their personal interests to try to solve the deadlock. They agreed to approach the sister colonies in the Maritimes about a broader form of federal union.

French Canadians and Confederation

One of the first issues that had to be settled in the whole Confederation debate was what kind of government the new nation was to have; a legislative or federal one. A legislative union would mean one strong central government. A federal union would involve a federal government with certain national responsibilities and a number of provincial governments responsible for local matters. There was considerable pressure from the Maritime representatives as well as those from Lower Canada



for a federal union. The Maritimers felt that the federal system would not allow them to protect their regional or local interests. Those from Lower Canada similarly felt that the federal proposal would not enable them to protect their cultural identity, especially their language and religion.

Although Macdonald preferred the strength of a legislative union, he was acutely aware that to pressure for it would have meant an end to the negotiations.

Once the Seventy-Two Resolutions were agreed on by the delegates at Quebec City it was up to the delegates to convince their respective Assemblies and the electorate. The delegates from Lower Canada were under attack from their colleagues in the Assembly who felt that their nationality would be threatened by Confederation. A.A. Dorion, the leader of the Parti Rouge, made his concerns known:

I know there is an apprehension among the British population in Lower Canada that, with even the small power that the

Local Government will possess, their rights will not be respected. How, then, can it be expected that the French population can anticipate any more favorable result from the General Government, when it is to possess such enormous powers over the destinies of their section of the country? Experience shows that majorities are always aggressive, and it cannot well be otherwise in this instance.

Because of this opposition, Cartier had to muster all his eloquence to defend Confederation. He defiantly argued that assimilation was not a danger in the Confederation scheme.

... Some have regretted that we have a distinction of races, and have expressed the hope that, in time, this diversity will disappear. The idea of a fusion of all races is utopian; it is an impossibility. Distinctions of this character will always exist. ... The objection that we cannot form a great nation because Lower Canada is French and Catholic, Upper Canada English and Protestant, and the Maritime Provinces mixed ... is futile. ... In our confederation there will be Catholics and Protestants, English, French, Irish and Scotch, and each by its efforts and success will add to the prosperity of the Dominion, to the glory of the new confederation. We are of different races, not to quarrel, but to work together for the common welfare.

The debate over Confederation raged on in the Assembly. People like Dorion demanded that the issue be presented to the people in an election. But Cartier and many of his supporters opposed such a move and won. The issue was finally decided in the Assembly and

not at the ballot box. The result was the passage of the Seventy-Two Resolutions. The vote by members from Lower Canada was 27 to 21, only six more votes for it than against it.

There has always been a great deal of discussion about the nature of Confederation. Many historians have argued that Confederation was a compact between two people, two languages and two cultures. Confederation was a union of two founding races. Others maintain that Confederation was a union of four provinces that agreed to work together in a form of federal union. These people of course dispute the theory of founding races. But to French Canadians such as Cartier there was no doubt that it was a compact and one that English Canadians were expected to keep. In some ways, the British North America Act was a victory for the French Canadians. Section 92, for example, gave the provinces jurisdiction over many social institutions that would help them to preserve their culture.

French-English Relations Since Confederation

The intensity and bitterness of the conflict between French and English Canada has changed over the years but the struggle has always been over the same basic issues. French Canadians as the minority had one idea of what the direction and values of Canadian society should

They're thieving and treacherous, to drive these dogs successfully the driver must be able to swear in English, French and Indian.

E. R. Young, 1893

be and the majority British had another. Every conflict in its own way has placed considerable strains on Confederation.

The Northwest Rebellions

The new nation was just two years old when it was faced with its first real crisis. The crisis came not in the established provinces but in the newly acquired western territory. As settlement spread westward the issue of the nature of the new territory came to the fore. Was the area going to be primarily English, primarily French, half and half, or was it to be partially French, English and Métis (half-breed)? The 1869 rebellions have been discussed in Chapter 2, so here we will focus on how the issue directly involved French Canada and how it reacted.

The Role of Louis Riel

The events of 1869, 1870 and 1885 are not really complex. As we saw in Chapter 2, the Métis found in Louis Riel a champion for their cause, a spokesman for their grievances and a leader to give them direction. In setting up his provisional government at Red River, Riel was not trying to prevent the West from becoming part of Canada. He was trying to ensure that in becoming part of Canada the Métis would be guaranteed certain rights.

French Identification with Riel

As Riel's blood was primarily French and the vast majority of Métis were half-French rather than half-English, French Canadians tended to identify with the Métis cause. In addition, Quebec clearly hoped that the first province added in the West would be a new Quebec and lend support to French-Canadian interests and concerns at the federal level.

English-Canadian Sentiment

The following newspaper account from the *Toronto Evening News*, April 20, 1885 gives some indication of the feeling in Ontario:

Ontario is proud of being loyal to England. Quebec is proud of being loyal to sixteenth-century France. Ontario pays about three-fifths of Canada's taxes, fights all the battles of provincial rights, sends nine-tenths of the soldiers to fight the rebels, and gets sat on by Quebec for her pains. Quebec since the time of Intendant Bigot, has been extravagant, corrupt and venal, whenever she could with other people's money. . . . She is no use in Confederation. Her representatives are a weakness in Parliament, her cities would be nothing but for the English-speaking people, and today Montreal would be as dead as the city of Quebec but for the Anglo-Saxons, who are persecuted and kept down by the ignorant French. . . . We are sick of the French Canadians. . . . Quebec could go out of Confederation tomorrow and we would not shed a tear except for joy.

French-Canadian Sentiment

French-Canadian feeling was expressed when *Le Canadien*, the prestigious nationalist paper, wrote in an editorial,

At the moment when the corpse of Riel falls through the trap and twists in convulsions of agony, at that moment an abyss will be dug that will separate Quebec from English-speaking Canada, especially Ontario.

Riel Hangs

The matter was straightforward. The British were the majority; the French the minority. This was a political fact of life the French were expected to accept. If there had been any other way, John A. Macdonald, the wily politician, would have found it. Since there was none, Macdonald decided that Riel "shall hang, though every dog in Quebec bark in his favour." And so Riel was hanged on November 16, 1885.

French-Canadian Reaction

The French reaction was as might be expected; bitter, resentful, condemning, and resolved to establish a more cohesive front to protest their rights and interests. The following speech by Honoré Mercier shows the general feeling in Quebec.

Riel, our brother, is dead, victim of his devotion to the cause of the Métis of whom he was the leader, victim of fanaticism and treason — of the fanaticism of Sir John and some of his friends, of the treason of three of our people [the three French-Canadian cabinet ministers in Ottawa] who sold their brother to keep their portfolios.

In killing Riel, Sir John has not only struck a blow at the heart of our race, but above all he struck the cause of justice and humanity, which represented in all languages and sanctified by all religious beliefs, begged mercy for the prisoner of Regina, our poor brother of the North-West.

But the racial split was not total. Three French-Canadian Cabinet Ministers did not resign their portfolios. This meant that the Conservative Cabinet was still bicultural.

A rising young Liberal politician,



Wilfrid Laurier, also expressed his hope that the spirit of Confederation would not be lost.

Our country is Canada, it is the whole of what is covered by the British flag on the American continent. . . . What I claim for us [French Canadians] is an equal share of the sun, of justice, of liberty; we have that share, and have it amply; and what we claim for ourselves we are anxious to grant to others. I do not want French Canadians to domineer over anyone, nor anyone to domineer over them. Equal justice; equal rights. . . . Cannot we believe that in the supreme battle on the Plains of Abraham, when the fate of arms turned against us, cannot we believe that it entered into the designs of Providence that the two races, enemies up to that time, should henceforth live in peace and harmony? Such was the inspiring cause of Confederation.

Although the Northwest rebellions did not destroy the nation, they clearly showed the potential dangers

whenever French and English Canadians came into conflict over an issue.

The Manitoba School Issue

Possibly more than any other, the issue of the Manitoba School Act questioned the meaning of Confederation. Was the union of 1867 a partnership of two cultures in which each group would be equal? What were the rights of French Canadians outside Quebec?

The Manitoba Act of 1870 clearly provided for French and English language rights as well as Catholic and Protestant schools. These guarantees were granted at a time when the French-English ratio was almost fifty-fifty.

The Manitoba School Act

However, in 1890 the Manitoba government under Premier Thomas Greenway passed the Manitoba School Act. This eliminated the guarantees that had been given to the French Métis in 1870 by decreeing that there would be one secular educational system and separate schools were no longer to receive financial support from the government. This was followed shortly by a law that abolished the official use of the French language in Manitoba. Greenway justified his actions on the basis that the English Protestants were now the vast majority in the province.

On the surface this would appear to be strictly a local or provincial struggle. However, this was not the case. People from Ontario felt involved and Quebecois identified with the French cause in Manitoba. This raised the issue in the new territory to a bitter national conflict.

Why the Manitoba School Act?

There is really little or no evidence to support the assumption that the Act was prompted by pressure from the English Protestants within Manitoba. There are, however, two other factors that must be considered. First of all there was a strong reaction in Ontario to the growing French-Canadian nationalist sentiment as seen in the Nationalist movement of Honoré Mercier. In particular Dalton McCarthy, an MP from Ontario, took exception to the Jesuits' Estates Act passed in Quebec. This returned land to the Catholic Church that had been confiscated during the conquest period. When McCarthy and twelve other MP's were unsuccessful in getting Parliament to revoke this legislation, he decided to carry his personal crusade to Manitoba.

The extent of McCarthy's racial and religious bigotry can be seen in some of his speeches. On one occasion he argued that the time had come,

to make this a British country, in fact and in name. The separate school question in Manitoba and the Northwest, and the French school question in Ontario are local tasks which must be tackled first before the more difficult problems, that is, problems where vested interests are stronger, can be settled.

Again he suggested that Canada was a "British country" and there must be "unity of language and race." He concluded that the "French language and French ideas must go to the wall." His racial bigotry was greater than his religious bigotry, for he said, "let them remain Catholic but not French."

At the same time, the Greenway government was being beset by

Historically, French Canadians have not really wanted democracy for themselves; and English Canadians have not really wanted it for others.

Pierre Trudeau

charges of corruption in its handling of the Northern Pacific Railway. Because of this Greenway attempted to create an emotional issue that would divert public attention from the railway scandal. The Manitoba School Act was ideal for this. It was a strategy that was successful in two successive elections.

The Appeal for Remedial Legislation

The issue raged through a series of bitter court battles. Two Manitoba courts ruled that the provincial government was within its rights to pass such legislation; the Supreme Court of Canada ruled the legislation unconstitutional; and finally the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of England (the highest court of appeal at that time) reversed the Supreme Court's decision and ruled the legislation constitutional. The French of Manitoba were right back where they started from.

The French in Manitoba then appealed to the federal government to introduce remedial legislation that would wipe out the Act itself. At last, with great hesitancy, the federal Conservative government introduced remedial legislation. The federal Liberals, seeing an excellent opportunity to discredit the Conservatives in Ontario and realizing that an election was imminent, decided to filibuster the bill. Their strategy was effective. Before the Conservatives could pass the bill the life of that Parliament ran out and the remedial legislation became the major election issue.

The 1896 Election

The subsequent election was a bitter one. The key was of course Quebec. Ontario was opposed to remedial legislation and, despite the

Conservatives' stronghold there, the Liberals on an anti-remedial campaign won the majority of seats as they did in British Columbia and the Territories. The Maritimes split evenly between the Liberals and the Conservatives. But in Quebec, where it would be expected that the Conservatives would win with their commitment to remedial legislation, they lost. The Liberals elected 49 members, the Conservatives only 16. What had caused such an unexpected result? The Liberals under Laurier had decided to gamble. By opposing remedial legislation they could win Ontario and did. But the key to winning was to convince Quebec that with Laurier, a French-Canadian Prime Minister, there would be no need for remedial legislation. The French rights in Manitoba and the entire nation would be protected. The gamble had obviously worked.

Laurier's Solution

Once elected Laurier had to resolve the issue. His solution still did not provide financial support for separate schools. However, religious instruction was permitted in the last half of the day in schools where numbers warranted (forty in a town or ten in a rural school). In addition, in any school where ten or more pupils spoke French or any language other than English the students had the right to instruction in their native tongue.

On the surface this appears to be a reasonable compromise. But if we go back to the original issue, the compromise does not appear as good. A group of people, the French-Métis, had originally been given certain guarantees in 1870. However, because of forces originating outside the province and

Autonomy Bills

In 1905 the Laurier government moved to create two provinces out of the Territories. Drawing up the boundaries created no major difficulties. However, the parts of the Constitution covering education proved to be another matter.

Roman Catholic and French schools were established in the Territories in 1875. But these minority rights were gradually reduced over the next 30 years. When the provinces were created Laurier tried to restore these rights to the French minority through the Autonomy Bills.

The resulting outcry in the West and in Ontario was quick in coming. The issue became such a heated and divisive one that it split Laurier's cabinet. Clifford Sifton, the Minister of the Interior, resigned from the cabinet over the issue. The public outcry and Sifton's resignation forced Laurier to withdraw the bills.

As with the Manitoba School Question, the opinion of the English majority decided the issue.

because of a need to create an issue that would divert public attention from the railway scandal, these people suddenly found their rights had been swept away. The two questions that remain are, when one group finds itself in a majority situation, does it have the right to eliminate guarantees previously given to the minority; and in light of the other factors was Laurier's solution a particularly just or fair one?

The Age of Imperialism

In Chapter 3 the effect of imperialist feelings as part of the British heritage in Canada were outlined. We must, however, remember how deeply rooted these feelings were if we are to understand the great effect they had on French-English relations in Canada.

The Boer War

The Boer War provoked the first clash between French-Canadian nationalism and English-Canadian imperialism. The British Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, asked for a Canadian contingent of men for the British forces fighting the Boers as "proof of the unity of the Empire." English Canadians were eager to help their mother country, but French Canadians saw no reason why they should fight in a war for another country.

Prime Minister Laurier, hoping to minimize the potential conflict, attempted to solve the problem by a form of compromise. Canada would not send an official contingent, but those who volunteered for service in South Africa would be equipped and transported by the Canadian government. Once the troops were there they would come under the British government. The fact that some Canadians chose to volunteer (7300 altogether) was supposed to satisfy English Canada whereas by not sending an official contingent French Canada was supposed to be satisfied.

Bourassa's Resignation

Henri Bourassa, Laurier's lieutenant in Quebec, resigned from the cabinet over the issue and became the leading spokesman for French Canadians against British imperialism.

This was the beginning of a long and bitter personal feud between the two men. As the leading spokesman against imperialism in Quebec, Bourassa became the founder of a new nationalist movement.

Laurier's compromise did little to satisfy the extremists in either English or French Canada. However, it was a sufficiently middle-of-the-road policy to defuse a potentially major conflict.

The Issue of the Naval Service Bill

The issue of imperialism was not dead. It raised its head again in 1908 and 1909 when another request came from the Colonial Office. This time the British government requested funds for building dreadnoughts, the most modern warship of its time. Again the sides formed; English Canada was in favour, French Canada strongly opposed.

Again Laurier attempted a compromise. This came in the form of the Naval Service Bill. Canada would have its own navy under the control of the Canadian government. The navy would consist of five cruisers and six destroyers. If and when Britain became involved in a war, the ships would be placed at the disposal of the Royal Navy. Again the extremists were not satisfied. Again Bourassa took aim at Laurier's compromise.

*Let the notion occur to a
Chamberlain, a Rhodes, a
Beers of causing a conflict*



**Sir Wilfrid Laurier
(1841-1919)**

There is little doubt that Sir Wilfrid Laurier was not only a great Prime Minister but a great Canadian. Born in St. Lin in Lower Canada in 1841, Laurier was educated at L'Assomption College and McGill University. In 1871 he was elected to the Legislative Assembly of Quebec but he resigned the seat in 1874 in order to run for the Canadian House of Commons. He was successful in his bid and remained a member of the Commons until his death in 1919.

Throughout his political career, Laurier fought very hard to maintain the cultural identity of French Canadians, both in Quebec and other provinces. However he did not see the virtue of a narrow French-Canadian nationalism. Through his efforts to find a compromise and defuse conflicts between French and English, he was truly a great Canadian.

in South Africa or India . . . or on the banks of the Black Sea . . . We are involved, always and regardless, with our money and our blood. . . . It is the most complete backward step Canada has made in half a century. It is the gravest blow our autonomy has suffered since the origin of responsible government.

The Election of 1911

There was no single factor that caused the downfall of Wilfrid Laurier and his Liberal government in the 1911 election. The extremists in both Ontario and Quebec attacked Laurier's compromises over the imperialist issues as weak. In addition, the attacks on Laurier's economic policies, particularly that of reciprocity, and the fact that the Laurier government had been in power for 15 years did not help matters.

The tiredness and frustration of Laurier can be seen in the following speech in St. John's, Newfoundland.

I am branded in Quebec as a traitor to the French, and in Ontario as a traitor to the English. In Quebec I am branded as a Jingo, and in Ontario as a Separatist. In Quebec I am attacked as an Imperialist, and in Ontario as an anti-Imperialist. I am neither. I am a Canadian. Canada has been the inspiration of my life. I have had before me as a pillar of fire by night and a pillar of cloud by day a policy of true Canadianism, of moderation, of conciliation.

Laurier had tried to solve the conflicts between French and English through compromise and conciliation. But such a policy could never be a total solution.

Conscription Crisis of World War I

It is often suggested that the French-English struggle over imperialism during the Laurier period was but a drop in the bucket compared to the bitterness of the conscription issue during the two world wars. The very survival of the Canadian nation was never more in doubt than during these two periods.

When war broke out in 1914 there was nothing to suggest the bitterness that was to emerge. In announcing his endorsement of Prime Minister Borden's declaration of Canadian support of England's war effort, Laurier, as leader of the opposition, spoke of the commitment that Canadians had as British subjects.

We are British subjects, and today we are face to face with the consequences which are involved in that proud fact. Long have we enjoyed the benefit of our British citizenship; today it is our duty to accept its responsibilities and its sacrifices. We have long said that when Great Britain is at war, we are at war; today we realize that Great Britain is at war and that Canada is at war also. . . . I have declared more than once that if England were in danger . . . it would be the duty of Canada to come to her aid in the full measure of her resources.

As the war dragged on, however, it became apparent that it would take more than mere sentiment to win. No one had ever thought that the war would go on for four years. In 1914, young soldiers had gone off gaily expecting to be back in a few months. The atmosphere had changed drastically by 1916 and 1917. In 1916 there were barely

enough recruits to replace the casualties. By late 1917 there were not enough to maintain the forces in the field.

French-Canadian Feelings on the War

But these statistics do not tell the whole story. They only help to mask the graver issue of the racial split that was occurring in Canada. The British-born turned out in the strongest numbers to support the war, followed by English Canadians, with the French Canadians lagging far behind. The French reluctance is partially explained by the blunders of the Defence Department. These included the sole use of English as the language of command, overwhelming numbers of English Canadians in the officer corps, and the breakup of French-Canadian regiments.

However, to attribute the lack of French-Canadian support of the war to these factors alone would be an oversimplification. Even without these errors in judgement it is doubtful if French Canadians would have given unreserved support to the war. They were not a military people and were reluctant to join in a foreign cause in a foreign land. Bourassa, as was to be expected, was the leading opponent of the war.

Borden Decides on Conscription

In 1916, Prime Minister Robert Borden went to Europe and returned convinced that the lack of recruits was severely endangering the war effort. As the recruitment crisis continued through 1917, Borden became convinced that a policy of conscription was necessary. Realizing that such a policy could divide the country, he approached

Laurier about forming a coalition government. But Laurier, who had spent his political life seeking ways to reduce any French-English conflicts, refused. Laurier was well aware of the consequences of this decision. With the rest of the Liberal Party pressuring him to accept and the Quebec Liberals pressuring him to refuse, Laurier knew his refusal would split his own party wide open. He also knew that if he were to join Borden he would lose his credibility in Quebec and virtually turn Quebec over to what he considered as the extremism of Bourassa. In essence Laurier had to choose between his party and his people. He chose his people.

The legislation that brought conscription to Canada was passed in the House of Commons by 102 votes to 44. The Quebec Liberals voted en bloc against the bill with the Western Liberals supporting the Conservatives. The French-English split was complete.

Wartime Elections Act

This was followed by the Wartime Elections Act which, combined with the subsequent election, further strengthened the split. The Union Government (Conservatives and Western Liberals) introduced legislation that allowed men overseas to vote and enfranchised mothers, wives and sisters of enlisted men at a time when women in general did not have the vote. At the same time conscientious objectors and enemy aliens who had become naturalized citizens since 1902 were disenfranchised.

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Victory of the Union Government

In the following election, the Union Government won in English Canada by an overall majority of 71 seats. However, they won only three seats in Quebec, all in predominantly English-speaking areas in Montreal. Laurier's Liberals swept Quebec but won only ten seats beyond the Ontario border. This gives some in-

dications of the bitter split between English and French Canada. But it showed once again that when necessary the British majority was prepared to use its political power and the French would have to learn to accept it.

Be satisfied we will never forget our allegiance till the last cannon which is shot on this continent in defense of Great Britain is fired by the hand of a French Canadian.

Sir Etienne-Pascal Taché
1846

Conscription Again: 1942 and 1944

When conscription again became an issue in 1942 the cast was different but the theme remained the same. Again, in the final analysis English Canada favoured conscription, French Canada opposed it.

At the beginning of the Second World War, Ernest Lapointe pledged Quebec's support in the war effort. In the same speech, as spokesman for Prime Minister Mackenzie King and his Liberal government, Lapointe promised Quebec that there would be no conscription. Both of these messages were intended to come across loud and clear to each group.

... It is impossible, practically, for Canada to be neutral in a big war in which England is engaged. ... No government could stay in office if it refused to do what the large majority of Canadians wanted it to do. ... For the sake of unity we cannot be neutral in Canada ... the whole province of Quebec — and I speak with all the responsibility and all the solemnity I can give to my words — will never agree to accept compulsory service or conscription outside Canada. ... I am authorized by my colleagues in the cabinet from the province of Quebec ... to say that we will never agree to conscription and will never be members or supporters of a government that will try to enforce it.

Mackenzie King detested the war and was personally committed to making certain that it did not cause the kind of split created by World War I. For this reason the slow trip to conscription was a painful one for the prime minister. Again, as the war effort dragged on, it became

apparent that conscription might become necessary. In 1942, the government asked the nation to release it from its promise of no conscription. King argued that this meant "conscription if necessary, but not necessarily conscription." The results of the subsequent plebiscite brought not unexpected returns: 72 percent of Quebec rejected the proposal but 80 percent of the rest of Canada accepted it.

When legislation to give the government the power of conscription was introduced into the House of Commons the vote was 158 in favour and 54 opposed. The Conservatives voted with the government and 45 Quebec Liberals voted against it. Again the racial split was evident.

The Decision to Bring in Conscription

The prime minister delayed the decision to invoke conscription again and again. King personally exhorted Canadians to enlist to meet the need and thus avoid conscription. But there were still not enough recruits. When in the end he felt that he had no choice, the prime minister approached his Quebec lieutenant, Louis St. Laurent, and asked him to support conscription. St. Laurent was aware of the consequences, regardless of his decision. In an effort to avoid a total split as in World War I, St. Laurent consented and pledged his support on the basis of the crucial need.

Largely because of King's reluctance to push Canada into conscription, his own personal sympathy with French Canada's feelings towards the war, as well as St. Laurent's efforts to keep Quebec from being alienated once more from the rest of Canada, the second

conscription crisis was less bitter than the first. However, it was still one more crisis in the rift of French-English relations.

This historical analysis of French-English relations has certainly not been a detailed one. But it has shown certain key aspects of the French-Canadian heritage as well as the rest of Canada's attitudes towards French Canada. First, French Canadians have values and goals that, on occasion, differ considerably from those of the English majority. Secondly, the preservation of their language, religion and other aspects of their culture is very important to them as a group. Thirdly, when the need arises French Canada is prepared to become a cohesive political force to protect its rights. And finally, English Canada, as the majority, is equally prepared to use its political power to suppress French-Canadian interests whenever they oppose those of the majority.

Quebec Society at the Turn of the Century

At the turn of the century Quebec society was primarily a rural agrarian one. Agriculture and various extractive industries formed the major economic base of the province. There were also some significant manufacturing areas notably around Montreal and Quebec City. However, even these centres concentrated on farm-related industries such as small farm machinery, saw

mills, tanneries and small foundries. On the whole there was little major capital required in such industries and the number of people employed in industry was very small compared to the agrarian sector of the economy.

This primarily agrarian economy was dominated by mixed farming. Although by no means impoverished, the average farmer did not have a particularly high standard of living. This was mainly because the cash income from the farm was low. However, when need arose the individual farmer and his family could be quite self-sufficient. The necessary food could be grown, firewood for fuel was abundant, labour was done by the family, and they were capable of making most of their own clothes.

The majority of the people lived in rural areas with few urban centres other than Montreal and Quebec City. Families tended to be quite large, with ten to twelve children not uncommon. There was a high degree of community activity centring on the parish. The parish priest therefore played an important role in the community. Other influential people included doctors, lawyers and other professional people who had received their training at the church-controlled classical colleges.

The Liberal Party and the Industrialization of Quebec

The church and some of the intelligentsia idealized the notion of rural life. But the Quebec Liberal Party believed that the prosperity and well-being of the province depended on the exploitation of the province's rich natural resources — minerals, hydro-electric power, and timber — as well as greater development of the manufacturing sector of the

economy. But to achieve these goals a great deal of capital and expertise was required. Clearly neither was to be found in a predominantly rural agrarian society of farmers, shopkeepers and artisans.

The Liberal Party therefore actively sought and encouraged British, American and English-Canadian businessmen to invest in the province. They used every possible inducement. The government granted massive land tracts and gave financial assistance and extensive tax concessions to businessmen willing to invest in Quebec.

Economic Development

Although some progress was made before World War I, the major development and growth in manufacturing did not take place until after 1920. But within a relatively short period of time Quebec became an industrialized society. The province quickly became a major producer of aluminum, asbestos, textiles, footwear and ships, and also became Canada's largest producer of pulp and paper. In addition, the processing of raw materials, chemicals and metallurgical products, and mineral production all became a significant part of the economy.

The ownership and control of all these industries was concentrated in the hands of a few large firms. By amalgamating and absorbing smaller firms, they became virtual monopolies.

The Immediate Economic Benefits

The benefits of the branch plants that sprang up had the same effect on the economy as a stone being dropped into a still pond. New plants meant employment; employment meant available cash; avail-

able cash increased the demand for goods and services; farmers expanded crop production to feed the urban workers who had moved from the rural areas; merchants began to expand to take advantage of this new spending power of both the urban industrial worker and the farm community. Beyond a doubt industrialization created a tremendous boom for the whole economy.

The Impact on the Family

As we have seen, self-sufficiency and solidarity were characteristic of the rural French-Canadian family. Suddenly this changed. As children moved away to take jobs in the cities the father found it more difficult to maintain his patriarchal authority. Whereas the family had functioned largely as an independent economic unit, in many cases it now became a family of independent wage earners. This new relationship resulted in a further breakdown in the closeness of the family unit.

The entire family structure was by no means suddenly or completely destroyed. The families that remained on the farms still tended to keep the old characteristics and relationships. However, the migration to the cities did alter many family relationships.

The Impact on the Church

The impact of industrialization on the church was twofold. First, the parish lost much of its importance as the centre of community life, especially in the expanding urban communities. In addition, as the parish grew it was no longer possible for the priest to have such a close relationship with his parishioners as he had once enjoyed.

A second significant result was

This is the first time I was ever in a city where you couldn't throw a brick without breaking a church window.

Mark Twain

the shift in values that began to take place. Historically, industrialization brings with it its own value system. The desire for material goods, profits, bigness, efficiency and economic status invariably accompany industrial development. Society becomes more preoccupied with present material well-being and less concerned with spiritual matters and the concept of a better life in the world hereafter. Urban Quebec was no exception.

This was happening in many areas of Canada as the country became urbanized. The church did not suddenly lose its importance or control, nor did old family ties break down completely or immediately. The church's sphere of influence was altered but certainly not totally eliminated.

The Subordinate Role of the French Canadian

In spite of the individual economic benefits, another economic and social fact of life soon became apparent to French Canadians. Industrialization reduced them to a subordinate position within their own society. The industrialists were primarily American, British and English Canadian. Many French Canadians changed from being rural land-owners and skilled artisans to wage earners in branch plants. This in itself did not reduce them to a subordinate position in the economy and their society. But they were employed in the lower-paying jobs and the senior managerial positions and white-collar jobs were reserved for the English Canadians who were brought in by the industrialists to establish and run the new branch plants.

This situation was not entirely the result of the new industrial order.

The education system in Quebec emphasized classical studies. Graduates from these schools did not have the entrepreneurial skills necessary to hold the managerial positions occupied by the English Canadians. In addition, the small shopkeeper often found himself in competition with large corporations and even monopolies. Many old and respected family companies were either absorbed or forced to go out of business.

This situation was difficult for the proud French Canadians to accept. The resentment that soon began to grow among many French Canadians was one of the seeds that was to foster nationalist groups, political parties and the various cries for separatism.

The Growing Disenchantment with Industrialization

Although industrialization raised the average person's standard of living, it also disrupted the established order, stability and security of the rural agrarian Quebec society. It is not surprising, therefore, that opposition began to grow and coalesce against many aspects of the Liberal's policies on industrialization.

L'Action Française

One of the major sources of opposition to the Liberal policies was a group of nationalist intellectuals known as La Ligue d'Action Française. This organization was formed during World War I by a few of the followers of Henri Bourassa, the fiery nationalist.

Initially L'Action Française concentrated on promoting the French language in the business world as well as the rights of French minori-

ties in other provinces. However, by the 1920s it had expanded and was concerned about the whole question of maintaining French-Canadian culture.

The Opposition of the Church

As would be expected, the other major source of opposition to industrialism came from various Catholic action groups. They sprang up because of the church hierarchy's concern over the changing values, traditions and institutions created by industrialization. The most significant was the Catholic trade union movement which began in the early 1920s. This was an amalgamation of several unions in the province under the name Confédération des Travailleurs Catholiques du Canada. The primary aim of the movement was not great worker power and bargaining rights, but to protect the workers from the secularizing influence of international unions.

Disenchanted Youth

The youth in particular became very disenchanted with the industrialization program. On graduating from college they found few if any positions open to them. A number of nationalist groups sprang up, often supported and led by dissatisfied university students and recent graduates. Many of the established nationalist groups also found new support and enthusiasm among university students and tended to become even more nationalistic and radical in their outlook. The fact that a number of the nationalist groups went so far as to suggest separation from the rest of Canada gives some indication of the depth and bitterness of feelings in Quebec.

Patriotic sentiments have never in the history of the world stood long against the pocket-book.

Cornelius Van Horne

Growing Opposition to the Liberal Party

Many of the steps the Quebec government took to combat the depression were similar to those in the other provinces. These included direct assistance to the unemployed and public works to provide jobs. Despite these programs and efforts to get people to return to the land the Quebec government was as unsuccessful as the other provincial governments and the federal government in combatting the depression.

The discontent and dissatisfaction increased not only among the nationalists but also among the voters in general. Possibly even more damaging to the party's hold on the province was its image as the instrument of the industrialists. The anti-industrialist feeling was transferred to the party and in particular its leadership. It was almost inevitable that an organized anti-industrialist, anti-Liberal political movement would develop.

The Birth of the Union Nationale Party

To a large extent the birth of the Union Nationale Party came from within the ranks of the Liberal Party itself. A group of nationalistic young left-wing members became disenchanted with the party's economic policies, its lack of concerns over the ills of industrialism and the erosion of the traditional French-Canadian culture. They split from the Liberal Party under the banner L'Action Libérale Nationale.

But the new party had serious disadvantages. The majority of its members had very little political experience compared to the Liberals and they had very little financial support.

The Quebec Conservative Party

Ever since the election of 1897 the Quebec Conservative Party had not been able to win an election and had in fact seldom won enough seats to form an effective opposition to the Liberals. However, they hoped that all of this would change with the new leadership of Maurice Duplessis and a shift in emphasis to a platform of social and economic reform.

The Union Nationale Duplessis-Gouin

Duplessis and the Conservatives, eager for any opportunity to unseat the Liberals, began to talk with the L'Action Libérale Nationale under the leadership of Paul Gouin. The negotiations proved fruitful and on November 8, 1935, just 17 days before the upcoming election, the two leaders issued a joint statement to support each other and oust the Liberals. This new coalition was to be called the Union Nationale Duplessis-Gouin. Shortly after, the coalition party received support from a number of independent but influential nationalists who had previously lent little direct political support to any party.

The Election of 1935

From the outset, the 1935 election was an uphill battle for Duplessis, the leader of the Conservatives, and Gouin, the leader of L'Action Libérale Nationale. Taschereau, the Liberal premier, made a vicious personal attack against Gouin and Duplessis. In addition the Liberals promised to introduce extensive social reforms. But probably most damaging to the coalition was the unfair election tactics. Undecided voters were bought with money and free drinks; thousands of fictitious

names appeared on the voters' list on election day; many known supporters of the new party found their names missing from the list; and in areas of strong anti-Liberal feeling, ballot boxes simply disappeared before the counting took place.

Despite the election promises, new projects and public works and the electoral fixing, the Liberals won by only six seats. The 42 seats won by the Duplessis-Gouin coalition meant that, for the first time in a number of years, there would be an effective opposition in the Quebec Assembly.

Exposure of Liberal Corruption

As soon as the 1936 session of the Assembly started, Duplessis began asking questions about corruption in the Liberal Party. As the opposition was now much stronger, many instances of corruption and bribery were exposed. The result was Taschereau's resignation. The Liberals tried to regroup under a new leader. In the subsequent election they promised new integrity under new leadership and committed the party to extensive social reform. However, it was too little too late and they were defeated by the Union Nationale in the 1936 election.

Duplessis Comes to Power

It quickly became apparent after the 1935 election that Duplessis had no intention of sharing the leadership with Gouin. Gradually at first and then more abruptly, cracks in the partnership began to appear. Before the 1936 election Gouin left the coalition. Most of his L'Action Libérale Nationale members, however, remained with Duplessis and the Union Nationale.

When the Union Nationale came to power in 1936 there were great expectations that the promised reforms would be enacted. However, it soon became clear that big business had no need to worry about radical changes from the Union Nationale. Labour had gained no ally in the Union Nationale, but farmers did gain some things in Duplessis' back-to-the-land program.

Union Nationale Defeat 1939

It is often assumed that the Union Nationale was defeated in the 1939 election because it reversed its policy on matters of social and economic reform. However, this is an oversimplified explanation. To a large extent, the party's defeat was due to the federal Quebec Liberals' attack on Duplessis over the conscription issue. This was the first example of Duplessis' efforts to be identified as the true spokesman of Quebec's interests.

Duplessis' Union Nationale Domination 1944-1960

After a defeat in the 1939 election, the party, with Duplessis at its helm, was returned to power in the election of 1944 and remained in power until 1960. During this 24-year period this incredible politician totally dominated the province's political stage, doing as he saw fit. His rationale was that he and his party knew what was in Quebec's best interests politically, economically and socially. Politically this meant virtual control by one man. Economically it meant a greater commitment to industrialization and greater dependence on foreign investors. And socially it meant a further extension of urbanization as well as the breakdown of rural values, traditions and institutions.



A Friend of Big Business

Despite Duplessis' reversal of policy in 1936, even the wildest political dreamer would not have expected him to adopt the Liberal policies on industrial development and foreign capital. Like Taschereau, Duplessis was convinced that the future prosperity of Quebec was directly dependent on the exploitation of the province's natural resources and further development of its manufacturing industries. He was also equally committed to the idea that private enterprise through foreign capital, not government, was the vehicle for this development.

Duplessis' successive administrations encouraged, enticed, and even collaborated with foreign capitalists interested in investing in the province.

The Growth of Organized Labour

With the second stage of industrial development came the growth of highly organized and militant trade unions. To a large extent this was due to the influence of the international unions with their more aggressive demands on management and

their greater willingness to strike. Quebec labour was no longer docile or satisfied with low wages and poor working conditions.

Duplessis' Reaction to Labour

There was a general lack of sympathy and even open hostility towards organized labour during the 24-year Union Nationale regime. Although the statutes clearly stated that companies had to bargain with certified unions, the government frequently took no actions against firms that refused to do so. Similarly, although unions restricted to employees of only one company were illegal, the Labour Relations Board persisted in granting them certification. On the other hand, it was not uncommon for properly documented applications for certification to be delayed for months.

Bill 5

When these kind of practices failed to restrict the growth of unions Duplessis decided that further legislative restrictions were necessary. He introduced Bill 5 which outlawed sympathy strikes or slowdowns, required secret ballot votes conducted by the Labour Relations Board before any strike was deemed legal, prohibited policemen, firemen and teachers from organizing with similar occupational groups in other cities, and established binding arbitration in cases when municipalities and groups such as policemen, firemen and teachers reached an impasse. In addition the bill prohibited unions from having officers who were communists or Marxists. Any union refusing to comply would be refused or lose its certification. The fact that the Union Nationale frequently considered and branded people opposed to government

policies as communists made this a very arbitrary and authoritarian concept. Duplessis and the Union Nationale felt that this legislation would sufficiently broaden the scope of the Labour Relations Board to guarantee the rights of the employer and maintain law and order.

The bill met with tremendous opposition from the three major unions as well as a number of independent ones. But even more crucial was the church's criticism of the bill as an infringement on individual rights. Because of the strong criticism and opposition it aroused, the bill was withdrawn. But this was not the end of it. Through a series of separate pieces of legislation nearly all the principles of Bill 5 were on the statute book by 1949.

Bills 19 and 20

By far the most controversial of these bills were 19 and 20. Bill 19 called for the decertification of any union that permitted known communists in its ranks. Bill 20 stated that decertification would result if any union in the public service threatened to strike. The most frightening aspect of this was that the bill was retroactive to 1944 and the retroactive clause was used.

Harassment of Strikers

Duplessis did not limit his efforts at restricting strikes to legislation alone. Through the effective use of the Quebec Provincial Police, Duplessis tried to intimidate the unions and discredit them if and when there was any violence.

The Asbestos Strike 1949

Probably the most famous incident was the Asbestos Strike. This strike, involving the Johns-Manville Company and an affiliate of the CTCC, turned into a violent confrontation.

Shortly after the strike began,

Duplessis sent in the QPP at the request of the company. The town officials had opposed this as they feared an outbreak of violence. However, the strike carried on with no major incidents. But this changed when the company decided to bring in strike breakers in an effort to resume production. The strikers immediately set up a picket line around the plant. The Union Nationale government considered this illegal as the dispute had never gone to the necessary stage of compulsory arbitration. Further, the strikers established roadblocks at the entrances to the city to keep the strike breakers out. This in turn led to a confrontation with police who used tear gas to disperse the strikers. The strikers then disarmed several policemen, beat them up and overturned and damaged a number of police cars. Police reinforcements armed with rifles and tear gas arrived from Sherbrooke the following day. After reading the Riot Act to a crowd assembled at City Hall, the police started to break the resistance of the strikers.

People were arrested in their homes, churches, community halls, restaurants and on the street. Many who had not been present to hear the Riot Act were given no reason why they were being arrested. Although many did not offer resistance to arrest, they were savagely beaten. Some were held in custody without being charged, while others were detained several days without being allowed to see a lawyer. The police had obviously flouted the laws they were charged to uphold.

The repeated use of these tactics failed to stem the tide of unionism. In fact, this legislative manoeuvring and intimidation in many ways

created a solidarity in organized labour and increased militancy.

Position on Social Benefits

For Duplessis social welfare was nothing more than paternalism. This was a good enough reason not to bring in social reforms. But he also believed that public charities and organizations had a responsibility in the areas of social problems.

Whenever provincial pressure arose for the introduction of social services Duplessis claimed that the provincial revenue could not bear the cost. He also strongly opposed the federal government's programs of social legislation. These included unemployment insurance, old age pensions, hospital insurance and family allowances. He argued that such programs were an intrusion on the provincial jurisdiction.

An Administration of Political Patronage

When the Union Nationale came to power in 1936 and again in 1944 one of its promises was to eliminate patronage, corruption and illegal electoral abuses. But, in fact, the reverse took place. The degree of individual and group patronage increased tremendously and the well-oiled party machinery more than matched the electoral abuses of the previous Liberal administrations.

Patronage at the Individual Level

In an effort to gain the support of influential people in the community the government appointed them to various government boards and commissions. This usually included doctors, lawyers, businessmen, municipal leaders and, in some cases, union leaders. In most cases the duties involved were minimal or even non-existent. In return these

people were expected to make known their support for the party and its policies.

Government Contracts

In order to fund and replenish the party's election coffers the government developed an illegal but effective system. Whenever a company, large or small, received a government contract it was expected to make a proportional contribution to the Union Nationale Party. The firms, knowing they were expected to pay a kickback, usually built this amount into the cost of the project. It was, therefore, the taxpayer who was footing the bill for the kickback.

In a similar way firms that needed a government licence to operate were expected to make contributions to the party. Those who did had their licences renewed; those who did not were not granted a renewal on the basis of some technicality.

Electoral Practices

Just as the Union Nationale continued the corruption and patronage of the old administration, they also continued and expended the questionable and illegal electoral practices. Announcing and beginning public projects just before an election was still common. Monetary and material gifts were frequently and lavishly distributed throughout the community. Free entertainment, free bingos, free concerts and free liquor were all part of winning the election.

But it did not stop there. On election day people were paid to vote under fictitious names and impersonate others; opposition supporters' names were conveniently left off the voters' list; goon squads were paid to intimidate Liberal supporters; and ballot boxes were stuffed with marked ballots.

Duplessis and the Union Nationale wanted to remain in power and were clearly willing to use any methods to ensure it.

The Accomplishments of the Union Nationale

It would be easy to dismiss Duplessis as some form of tyrant who exploited the people of Quebec. But this would ignore the industrial development that took place during the Union Nationale regime. It is true that the second phase of industrialization after the depression had begun by the time the Union Nationale came to power. However, it was fostered and intensified during the Duplessis years and Quebec became a highly industrialized urban society under his leadership.

This of course brings us back to our initial analysis of the benefits of industrialization. New plants mean employment; employment means available cash; available cash increases the demand for goods and services; this in turn causes growth in consumer industries and merchandising and so the cycle expands. There is no doubt that the standard of living for the average Quebecois increased significantly as a result of industrialization under the Duplessis regime.

The Costs Involved

But it must be remembered that there were tremendous long-range costs involved as well. The industrialists who controlled the economy were not Quebecois but English Canadians and foreigners. The decision makers, managers and supervisors were not French Canadians but English Canadians. As we have seen, this reduced French Canadians to a subordinate economic position in their own society.

Possibly an even greater cost was the uncontrolled exploitation of the province's resources. Today, with a shortage of natural resources, one cannot help but question the concessions and enticements given to industrialists in certain areas. But without them, how long might the people of Quebec have had to wait for the benefits of industrialization?

The Death of Duplessis and Sauvé

In September 1959, while on a trip to northern Quebec, Duplessis died suddenly of a heart attack. This was a devastating blow to the Union Nationale which had been almost a one-man affair. However, the party was fortunate in having a bright, able replacement in Paul Sauvé. But shortly before the 1960 election Sauvé too died of a sudden heart attack.

The loss of Duplessis was a major factor in the party's defeat in 1960. However, there is evidence that the decline of the Union Nationale was imminent, anyway.

The Quiet Revolution: 1960-1966

Going into the 1960 election the Liberals also had a new leader, Jean Lesage. Lesage, a former federal cabinet minister, not only led the Liberals to their 1960 election victory but also opened the doors for the Quiet Revolution.

In an interview in *Maclean's* magazine of October 20, 1975, Prime Minister Trudeau stated his objections to nationalism.

For me, I'm afraid the word "nationalism" — particularly

Canadian nationalism was systematically encouraged and exploited by American capital. Canada moved from colony to nation to colony
Harold Adams Innes

economic nationalism, though it applies to cultural nationalism too — is very often a vehicle of the ruling classes to transfer wealth to themselves.

If we apply this statement to the Province of Quebec in the early 1960s we can see some of the reasons for the political changes that took place after the fall of Duplessis.

The Quiet Revolution refers to the educational, political and cultural reforms that took place under the Lesage administration. It involved the development of a provincial Department of Education that took control of the schools from the Roman Catholic Church and pointed the way to more scientific and practical curricula. It sought, though it never fully succeeded, to eliminate the corruption and patronage that had characterized Quebec politics. It also demanded that the Quebecois be given the freedom and dignity to develop their own culture within modern industrial North America.

“Maîtres Chez Nous”

To achieve its goals, the Lesage administration introduced concrete programs of reform and attractive slogans. Perhaps the most famous is “Maîtres Chez Nous” — “Masters in our own house.” That phrase captured the spirit and intent of the Quiet Revolution. To be true masters, however, economic changes as well as social and political reforms were necessary.

The table shows that at the beginning of the Quiet Revolution, French Canadians were not masters in their own house; they were underpaid servants. The government’s aim of promoting French-Canadian control of their own economy was, therefore, one that most Quebecois could readily accept.

Average Income of Male Salary and Wage Earners in Quebec, by Ethnicity, 1961

	Dollars	Index
All Origins	\$3469	100.0
British	\$4969	142.4
Scandinavian	\$4939	142.4
Dutch	\$4891	140.9
Jewish	\$4851	139.8
Russian	\$4828	139.1
German	\$4254	122.6
Polish	\$3984	114.8
Asiatic	\$3734	107.6
Ukrainian	\$3733	107.6
Other European	\$3547	102.4
Hungarian	\$3537	101.9
French	\$3185	91.8
Italian	\$2938	84.6
Native Indian	\$2112	60.8

Source: Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, *Report*, Vol. III, p.23

The Liberals used various tactics to achieve their end. They recognized the need for social change in a variety of fields. Largely through the influence of René Levesque, who was a member of the Lesage cabinet at the time, the government nationalized hydro-electric power in the province and seemed ready to expand government control of the economy in the interest of the people wherever the situation demanded.

The new Lesage group was dominated by intellectuals from the civil service, journalism and the universities. They had not been trained by the church or by large business corporations, which, of course, were dominated by English Canadians and Americans. They were a new technocratic elite in the province and steadily gained influence in social institutions such as hospitals, welfare agencies, schools and other areas previously reserved for the church. Moreover, they were prepared to put the national interests of the Quebecois ahead of the interests of the foreign corporations that dominated their economy.

Separatism and Marcel Chaput

Some Quebecois, however, felt that the Lesage government was not nationalistic enough. The first separatist groups were formed in 1960, the same year as Lesage came to power. By 1963 the FLQ were bombing federal buildings and mail boxes and the first victim of terrorist activity died.

Marcel Chaput was the first person to put forward the idea of separatism in a way that won popular support. An English translation of his book, *Pourquoi je suis séparatiste*, appeared in 1962 and created a national controversy. Chaput argued that Quebec was an economic, political and social colony of English-speaking Canada. He asserted that Quebec’s condition could not really be changed while it was still part of Canada. Only as a separate nation could Quebec achieve control over its national life. He did not dislike English-speaking Canadians but he insisted on the right of French-speaking Canadians to national self-determination.



Accomplishments

In the seven years of Quiet Revolution, Quebec accomplished a great deal. It built up a strong administrative elite and trained a bureaucracy able to govern a modern industrial state. It created a dynamic educational system that led to reform in the high schools and, eventually, to the creation of an elaborate community college system, the CEJEPS. The government began to take as great a role in the economy as, for example, the government of Ontario. Trade unions grew in importance and were seen as legitimate forces in the society.

A Middle-Class Movement

The Quiet Revolution in Quebec was largely a middle-class movement. It helped the new technocrats, educators and government officials to establish themselves in positions of importance but it did not present a serious challenge to the economic interests that controlled Quebec. It

stopped short of serious economic reform directed at improving the conditions of the working class.

The Quiet Revolution Ends

The Quiet Revolution could only have a limited effect. For the more conservative minded, particularly members of the established church, the Quiet Revolution went too far and too fast. It signalled a revolution in morals and lifestyle that went against the traditional values that had been characteristic of Quebec for a century. The rural areas turned against the Lesage government and tried to return to the past. On the other hand, workers and students in Quebec became impatient with the Quiet Revolution. Their spirit had been awakened by the optimism and the enthusiasm of the new order but they rapidly became disillusioned. They had appreciated the new openness of Quebec society. But they had hoped that it would lead to a direct takeover of the Quebec

economy and the elimination of economic discrimination against the Quebecois. Some had hoped that the phrase "Maîtres Chez Nous" would lead to "Quebec Libre." When it became obvious that the Liberal government was interested neither in socialism nor in political independence, the radical left turned away from the Quiet Revolutionaries. In 1966 the Quiet Revolution ended as the Union Nationale returned to power for a short and final term of office.

The Sixties and Seventies

René Levesque and Le Parti Québécois

René Levesque had originally been drawn to the Liberal Party and was a member of Lesage's government, but he became disillusioned with the Quiet Revolution. He wanted economic as well as social change but he was restrained by colleagues who thought his ideas dangerous. In 1968 he formed the Parti Québécois, a separatist political party whose aim was to achieve independence through legal and constitutional means.

The Parti Québécois (PQ) has had a remarkable record. In its first election in 1970, the PQ won a surprisingly high number of votes. Although it came second with 24 percent of the people's support, it won only 7 of the 108 seats.

In the next election in 1973, the PQ did even better by capturing slightly more than 30 percent of the popular vote but winning only six seats compared to 104 for the Liberals. None of the other parties



won any seats in the National Assembly, but the distorted results were disturbing for PQ supporters, especially as Levesque, the party leader, failed for a second time to win a seat.

Still, the obvious support for the PQ cannot be hidden by the oddities of the electoral system. It is, therefore, important to consider the approach taken by the PQ leader for it may yet affect Canada.

Independence and Cooperation

René Levesque set out his ideas in his book, *An Option for Quebec*, published in 1968. He suggested that both Quebec and Canada would be better off if, in a sense, their marriage was dissolved and they became just good friends. Levesque argued that the European Common Market or the European Free Trade Association were models that could be applied to Canada.

An independent Quebec could have a common approach to international affairs, a common banking system and currency and a common economic market with Canada but

could be politically independent at the same time. Quebec could then set about designing its society in the way it thought best without offending English-speaking Canada. It could develop a more socialist economy and it could emphasize its cultural growth without arousing the hostility of Canada. Canada would also be free to pursue its own course without the aggravating demands of Quebec. Finally, he argued, the arrangement would be socially and politically beneficial but, because of a common market arrangement, would not hurt either side economically. Canada could be Canada; Quebec could be Quebec. There could be more cooperation and less irritation.

As Levesque once said, the entire idea of bilingualism and biculturalism upset the English without helping the French. The aim of the federal government seems to be to put bilingual signs on all public buildings in Canada but "the problems of Quebec are not going to be solved by putting a bilingual sign on a post office in Lethbridge, Alberta. The problems of Quebec have nothing to do with the rest of Canada and they will be solved only when the people of Quebec are free."

The Present Challenge

The electoral success of the PQ means that the separatist option should be taken seriously. Whether people in Quebec support the PQ simply because it is the only viable opposition party or because they actually believe in separatism is debatable. However, there is some evidence to suggest that at least a substantial number of Quebecois want separation. Much of the evidence comes from an analysis of Robert Bourassa's Liberal govern-



ment. The strength of separatism can be seen in the amount of energy Bourassa expended to undermine it.

Robert Bourassa

In the 1970s Premier Bourassa appears to have taken Levesque's challenge seriously and is doing everything he can to stimulate investment and to promote the language and culture of Quebec. The present provincial government is trying to implement many of the ideas of the Quiet Revolution but is using the money invested by English Canadians and Americans to do so. In taking this course, Premier Bourassa has managed to satisfy many people who were looking for growth and development in a stable economic system. He has also satisfied many people who wanted mainly language and cultural rights rather than economic reorganization. However, the 1970s have brought a resurgence of middle-class nationalism that has created problems.

Use of Language in Communication at Work for Certain Language Groups, Quebec, 1970

	Language Use				Total
	Almost Exclusively French	Almost Exclusively English	Both Languages	Other Languages	
	percent (in thousands)				
French-speaking	64	3	32	1	100
English-speaking	5	63	32	—	100
Other	14	36	40	10	100
Totals	1207	334	764	36	2341

Source: Statistics Canada

In his favour, it can be said that Bourassa has moved in the direction of industrial development and language rights. He has responded well to a challenge issued in 1972 by Ken McRoberts, an expert on French Canada. McRoberts identified two basic issues that the Quebec government faced in the 1970s. As he said,

The Quebec government will have to take measures to further the process of transforming French Canada into a complete technological society.

The second basic issue is cultural identity. The technological society must, according to McRoberts,

be compatible with a full and viable Francophone culture. The essential condition here is that French Canadians should be able to live almost entirely in the French language. With the increased integration of the Quebec economy into a continental economy, this goal represents a very difficult challenge.

The Bourassa administration tried to meet this challenge by introducing Bill 22 in the National Assembly in 1974.

The Bourassa government also faces severe challenges from organized labour in Quebec. The working class and many professionals are demanding better living conditions. The nationalism of the Quiet Revolution benefited the middle class. But an increasing number of people today are insisting that nationalism should improve the lives of average people if it is to be worthwhile.

Language Rights in Quebec

One of the most controversial events in recent years was the passage of Bill 22 by the Quebec legislature. The Bill has made French the sole official language of Quebec. English is no longer an official language of government and the use of English in schools has been severely restricted. It is now difficult for many people to have their children educated in the English language if they live in Quebec.

Bilingualism and Bill 22

English-speaking Canadians have been surprised by this turn of events. They had listened for some years to demands from French-speaking Canadians for equal language rights in Canada. The Quebecois had won some headway under the program resulting from the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. By 1974, however, it seemed that the Quebecois' interest in turning Canada into a truly bilingual country had lessened and they had decided to make Quebec a unilingual country instead.

English-speaking Canadians had never been very enthusiastic about extending French beyond the borders of Quebec but they were even less enchanted with the idea of reducing the use of English inside the borders of Quebec itself. There has, therefore, been a good deal of public opposition to Bill 22.

The reasons for the bill are complex. Some people see it as an attempt by Bourassa's Liberal government to weaken the separatist Parti Quebecois. The PQ, under René Levesque, has been arguing for some years that the people of Quebec would be best

Bill 22

- Pupils must have a sufficient knowledge of a language before they can be instructed in it (public school only).
- Students speaking neither French nor English would be steered to take French (public school only).
- The public may address the government in English.
- All provincial government communications with the federal government and other provincial governments will be in French.
- French is to be the language of the civil service, municipal administrations and school boards although English may be used in communications.
- Government contracts in Quebec must be written in French.
- Financial assistance will be given to companies promoting the use of French.
- Preference is to be shown to companies promoting French by awarding contracts and granting subsidies.
- Public utilities must offer services in French although English may accompany French in print.
- All signs must be written in French or French and another language.

served by declaring their independence from Canada. One of the problems with remaining in Confederation, they have said, is that the language and the culture of the Quebecois will be slowly yet inevitably eroded. In an effort to convince people that Quebec can remain unique within Confederation, Bourassa has brought forward Bill 22. If it works, he will have done a great deal to persuade people that Quebec need not leave Canada in order to protect its rights.

Bill 22

M. Elena Smith

On July 30, 1974, Quebec's Official Languages Act was finally approved in the provincial assembly after more than two months of debate. Some weeks earlier, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau had suggested that the federal government would not challenge the legislation in the courts but would follow with interest any private court action initiated by a citizen. However, a week later, Premier Hatfield of New Brunswick urged the federal government to refer Quebec's Official Languages Act to the Supreme Court of Canada. He pointed out that New Brunswick would find it difficult to maintain its own guarantee of bilingualism within its borders while at the same time not fighting unilingualism in Quebec. The hesitation in Ottawa and the sense of urgency in New Brunswick suggested that earlier concerns expressed about the validity of Bill 22 were far from quieted.

The question of language rights had long been considered resolved. Except for the period 1841-1848, when the Act of Union prohibited the publication of laws in the French language, it had generally been assumed that English and French were equal in Quebec. Conservative historian Donald Creighton reflected upon the amendment in 1848 which "reintroduced French as an official language." He stated flatly that "this settled the matter for Quebec" with the "language provision in the BNA Act, section 133, [being] the result." The specified section of the BNA Act provided that:

Either the English or the French Language may be used by any Person in the Debates of the Houses of the Parliament of Canada and of the

Houses of the Legislature of Quebec; and both those Languages shall be used in the respective Records and Journals of those Houses; and either of those Languages may be used by any Person or in any Pleading or Process in or issuing from any Court of Canada established under this Act, and in or from all or any of the Courts of Quebec.

The Acts of the Parliament of Canada and of the Legislature of Quebec shall be printed and published in both those Languages.

The interpretation of this section of the Constitution repeatedly affirmed the principle of equality of languages in the federal and Quebec jurisdictions. Creighton therefore concluded that the status of the French language was recognized in certain restricted areas, whereas the status of English was established throughout the Dominion:

The BNA Act contained no general declaration of principle that Canada was to be a bilingual and bicultural nation. . . . The French language had thus no official standing in the courts of any of the provinces except Quebec; and, perhaps even more important, it was given no protected place in the nation's schools.

The Provisions of Bill 22

In commenting upon the constitutionality of Bill 22, Frank R. Scott has cited a number of points that cause him to believe that it would not stand up in the courts. Among the unconstitutional clauses he identifies are the following:

1. Title One declares that French is "the official language of

Quebec is the most interesting thing by much that I have seen on this continent, and I think that I would sooner be a poor priest in Quebec than a rich hog-merchant in Chicago.

Mathew Arnold, 1884

Quebec.” This, according to Scott, conflicts with “the Official Languages Act which applies to Quebec, so that for all federal undertakings . . . English is an official language in Quebec, along with French.”

2. Title Two declares that “where any discrepancy cannot be satisfactorily resolved by the ordinary rule of interpretation, the French text of the statutes of Quebec will prevail over the English text.” This, Scott states, is “clearly unconstitutional” since “the Supreme Court has dealt with the matter on several occasions and has ruled that for federal laws, the French and English texts are on an equal footing.”

3. Article Twenty of Title Three states that “notices, communications, forms, printed matter and tickets issued by public utilities must be issued in the official language although they may be accompanied by an English version.” This, Scott contends is unconstitutional “because it applies to public utilities which are under federal jurisdiction . . . and Quebec has no right to legislate as regards them.”

4. Article Forty-eight under Title Five states that “the language of instruction will be French but may be English at the discretion of the education minister.” The unconstitutionality of this section, Scott insists, depends on the way education is treated in the constitution. “The Protestant schools [are granted] a degree of self-government and control, for instance, over teachers, which means they can have instruction in the English language if they wish and since Bill 22 makes that right dependent on the discretion of the education minister it is contrary to Section 93 of the BNA Act.”

5. Article Forty-nine provides that “pupils must have a sufficient knowledge of the language of instruction to receive their instruction in that language.” To this Scott responds that it “completely ignores Section 93 of the BNA Act which does not divide children on the basis of language, but on the basis of religion.”

6. Finally, Title Ten holds that “the public administration, which includes school boards and universities, must communicate with other governments of Canada in French.” This, according to Scott, also conflicts with the Official Languages Act which “makes the two languages equal for communication with Ottawa and would prevail over Bill 22.”

It is certainly possible to contest some of Scott’s points. Nevertheless, it is apparent that in its attempts to regulate federal government agencies in the province of Quebec, the Official Languages Act of Quebec has probably infringed on areas of federal jurisdiction.

The arguments such as those made by Scott are inevitably based on a sense of injustice for the fate of English-speaking Quebeckers rather than from a dispassionate consideration of the law. But it seems clear that there are sufficient grounds to contest the law in the courts. If this happens, specific sections of Bill 22 may be declared unconstitutional. Moreover, the argument is made that, in the Official Languages Act, its constitutional parts are so mixed up with its unconstitutional parts that they cannot be separated. Accordingly, if the Supreme Court decides that a few sections are unconstitutional, the entire Act could also be ruled unconstitutional.

The French-Canadian Culture

French-Canadian Historians

The historian in French Canada has always played an important role. Ramsay Cook, the noted historian, pointed out their unique position when he suggested that the French-Canadian historian

is more than a mere keeper of records of the past. Consciously or otherwise, his concern for the past has stemmed from a deep interest in the present and the future of the people about whom he writes. His story has been that of the survival of a small people struggling against heavy odds.

Tradition and the past are such a powerful force in Quebec that French Canadians have given their historians an important role in French-Canadian nationalism.

Music

Folk Songs

In earlier days, folk songs were a part of the daily life of every French Canadian. They were sung by the *habitant* as he tilled the soil, by the lumberjack, the raftsmen and the *coureurs de bois*.

Unfortunately, many of these songs have been lost. But some have been handed down from generation to generation and they give us some idea how important they were in French Canada. In Quebec, as in most parts of North America, folk singing went through a period of stagnation. But recently there has been a revival of interest

Canada could have enjoyed
English government,
French culture,
and American know-how.
John Robert Columbo

in folk singing and many of the songs have been rediscovered.

In the same way that songs were important to past generations, they are again becoming part of French Canadian society. In recent years the *chansonnier* movement has suddenly developed in Quebec. Felix Leclerc is usually considered the founder of this movement. He is a noted author, dramatist and song writer who has in many ways become a legend in his own time. In singing about the land and the rural life that was his childhood background, he has fostered a movement of many other contemporary singers and composers. Among them are such people as Raymond Levesque, Robert Charlebois, Jean-Pierre Ferland, Georges Dor and possibly Quebecs' best-known *chansonnier*, Gilles Vigneault. The *chansonnier* movement grew in the late 1950s when young performers began singing in the *boîtes à chansons* (song clubs). As these *boîtes à chansons* became more popular and began springing up throughout Quebec, particularly in urban areas, the *chansonnier* movement began to spread. It has now become a major part of French-Canadian culture. The songs in this chapter show the long tradition of music in French-Canadian culture as well as its influence today.

Un Canadien Errant

Un ca - na - dien er - rant, Ban - ni de
ses fo - yers, Un ca - na - dien er - rant,
Ban - ni de ses fo - yers, Par - cou - rait en pleu -
rant Des pa - ys é - tran - gers, Par - cou - rait
en pleu - rant Des pa - ys é - tran - gers.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Un canadien errant
Banni de ses foyers,
Un canadien errant
Banni de ses foyers,
Parcourait en pleurant
Des pays étrangers,
Parcourait en pleurant
Des pays étrangers. | 1. Once a Canadian lad,
Exiled from hearth and home,
Wandered, alone and sad,
Through alien lands unknown.
Down by a rushing stream,
Thoughtful and sad one day,
He watched the water pass
And to it he did say: |
| 2. Un jour, triste et pensif,
Assis au bord des flots,
Au courant fugitif
Il adressa ces mots: | 2. 'If you should reach my land,
My most unhappy land,
Please speak to all my friends
So they will understand.
Tell them how much I wish
That I could be once more
In my beloved land
That I will see no more. |
| 3. Si tu vois mon pays,
Mon pays malheureux,
Va, dis à mes amis
Que je me souviens d'eux. | 3. 'My own beloved land
I'll not forget till death,
And I will speak of her
With my last dying breath.
My own beloved land
I'll not forget till death,
And I will speak of her
With my last dying breath.' |
| 4. O jours si pleins d'appas
Vous êtes disparus.
Et ma patrie, hélas!
Je ne la verrai plus! | (English words by Edith Fowke.) |
| 5. Non, mais en expirant,
O mon cher Canada!
Mon regard languissant
Vers toi se portera. | |

Instead, it ended up with
English know-how,
French government,
and American culture.

John Robert Columbo

Chanson de Louis Riel

C'est au champ de ba - tai - lle J'ai fait é - crire dou -
leurs. On cou - che sur la pai - lle, Ça
fait fré - mir les coeurs. Or je r' - çois t'une
let - tre De ma chè - re ma - man. J'a -
vais ni plum' ni en - cre Pour pou - voir lui z'è -
crire. Or je pris mon ca - nif. Je le
trem - pis dans mon sang. Pour é - crire t'un vieu'
let - tre À ma chè - re ma - man.

1. I send this letter to you
To tell my grief and pain,
And as I lie imprisoned
I long to see again
2. You, my beloved mother,
And all my comrades dear,
I write these words in my heart's
blood:
No ink or pen is here.
3. My friends in arms and children,
Please weep and pray for me.
I fought to keep our country
So that we might be free.
4. When you receive this letter
Please weep for me and pray
That I may die with bravery
Upon that fearful day.

(English words by Barbara Cass-Beggs.)

1. C'est au champ de bataille
J'ai fait écrire douleurs.
On couche sur la paille,
Ça fait frémir les coeurs.
2. Or je r'çois t'une lettre
De ma chère maman.
J'avais ni plum' ni encre
Pour pouvoir lui z'écrire.
3. Or je pris mon canif,
Je le trempis dans mon sang,
Pour écrire t'un vieux lettre
À ma chère maman.
4. Quand ell' r'cevra cett' lettre
Toute écrit' de sang.
Ses yeux baignant de larmes,
Son coeur sera mourant.
5. S'y jett' à genoux par terre
En appelant ses enfants:
Priez pour votre frère
Qui est au régiment.
6. Mourir, s'il faut mourir,
Chacun meurt à son tour;
J'aim' mieux mourir en brave,
Faut tous mourir un jour.

Montreal ought to become at no late
date the Boston of the colonies.
William Lyon Mackenzie

Mon Pays Gilles Vigneault

Mon pa-ys, ce n'est pas un pa-ys, c'est l'hi-ver; Mon jar-din, ce n'est
pas un jar-din, c'est la plaine; Mon che-min, ce n'est pas un che-
min, c'est la neige; Mon pa-ys, ce n'est pas un pa-ys, c'est l'hi-ver.

Dans la blan-che cé - ré - mo-nie Où la neige au vent se ma-
rie, Dans ce pa-ys de pou-dre - rie Mon père a fait bâ - tir mai -
son; Et je m'en vais ê - tre fi - dèle A sa ma-nière, à son mo-
dèle. La cham-bre d'a - mis se - ra telle Qu'on vien-dra des au - tres sai -
sons Pour se bâ - tir à cô - té d'elle.

1. G7 2. G7 D.C. al

2. Mon pays, ce n'est pas un pays,
c'est l'hiver;
Mon refrain, ce n'est pas un
refrain, c'est refale;
Ma maison, ce n'est pas ma maison,
c'est froidure;
Mon pays, ce n'est pas un pays,
c'est l'hiver.
De mon grand pays solitaire
Je crie avant que de me taire
A tous les hommes de la terre
"Ma maison, c'est votre maison."
Entre mes quatre murs de glace
Je mets mon temps et mon espace
A préparer le feu, la place
Pour les humains de l'horizon.
Et les humains sont de ma race.
3. Mon pays, ce n'est pas un pays,
c'est l'hiver;
Mon jardin, ce n'est pas un jardin,
c'est la plaine;
Mon chemin, ce n'est pas un chemin,
c'est la neige;
Mon pays, ce n'est pas un pays,
c'est l'hiver.

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Literature

Many aspects of the French-Canadian culture have been reflected in its literature. Quebec writers have been concerned with the cultural survival of their province and many of their short stories, novels and poetry have a patriotic theme. The struggle with the land has also played an important part in Quebec's literature. The influence of the Catholic church, especially on family relationships and in small communities, is another theme that can be seen running through many novels and poems. More recently some writers have been concerned about the effects of industrialization and urbanization on the traditional rural society.

It is a shame that students in English Canada seldom have the opportunity of studying French-Canadian novelists and poets. Something is always lost in translating literature from one language to another, but it is better to read a translation than not to read the literature at all. English Canadians could perhaps gain a better understanding of French Canada and the ideas of French Canadians from some of their literature.

Poets

Emile Nelligan (1879-1941)

Emile Nelligan is regarded as French Canada's first modern poet. He wrote all his poems between the ages of sixteen and twenty. His poems were about his feelings and emotions, rather than heroic poems of the struggle with the land or Quebec's history. This was something very new and different in Quebec literature. His work first appeared in small magazines and he read frequently at meetings of a poetry group in Montreal. The critics

praised his work highly, but Nelligan sank into a deep depression and spent the last 42 years of his life in mental institutions, never writing another poem.

Four other great French-Canadian poets who followed Nelligan are Saint-Denys Garneau, Alain Grandbois, Anne Hébert and Rina Lasnier. The list could go on and include many other great poets. To select even a few names and a few works does not do justice to the many writers who have made a significant contribution to French-Canadian poetry.

Novelists

There are a number of French-Canadian writers who have contributed significantly to the development of the French-Canadian novel. They include such people as Louis Hémon (*Maria Chapdelaine*), Claude-Henri Grignon (*Un Homme et son péché*), Germaine Guèvremont (*Le Survenant*), Rina Lasnier (*Madones canadiennes*), Léo-Paul Désrosiers (*Nord-Sud*, *L'Ampoule d'or*) and Yves Theriault (*Mahigan*, *Tayaout*, *L'Appelante*). But probably the most renowned writer of French Canada is Gabrielle Roy.

Gabrielle Roy

Gabrielle Roy was born in Saint-Boniface in 1909 and lived in Manitoba until she was 28. In 1937 she left for Europe to study, returning to Canada two years later. She then settled in Montreal where she started to write.

In 1945 she gained considerable attention with her first novel, *Bonheur d'occasion* (*The Tin Flute*), which won her the Governor-General's award and the Prix Femina in France. Like her first book, *Alexandre Chenevert* (*The Cashier*),

published in 1954, is a realistic novel of human loneliness and sympathy.

Several of her works, *La Petite Poule d'eau* (*Where Nests the Water Hen*), 1951, *Rue Deschambault* (*Street of Riches*), 1957, and *La Route d'Altamont* (*The Road Past Altamont*) 1966, are semi-fictional autobiographies set in the Manitoba of her childhood. She was also one of the few Canadian writers to deal with life in the Far North as she did in *La Montagne secrète* (*The Hidden Mountain*), 1962, and *Windflower*, 1970.

It is probably Gabrielle Roy's compassion and understanding of human feelings described in her delicate prose that make her one of Canada's most important writers.

Recently many contemporary novelists, poets and playwrights have begun to make their mark in French-Canadian literature. It can only be hoped that many more works will be translated into English so that the rest of Canada may gain some of the benefits.

Art and Architecture

There has been a long tradition of art in French Canada dating back to as early as 1668 when Laval established a school of arts and crafts near Quebec City. Since then it has grown both in quality and variety to the point of gaining North American and even world renown.

The earliest paintings in New France were concentrated along three main themes; individual portraits immortalizing important people; landscapes; and religious paintings that reinforced the place of the church and religion in the colony. The simplified classicism of portrait artists such as Antoine Plamondon and Théophile Hamel

was the most influential style until the late nineteenth century. At this time painters like Charles Edouard Huot, Henri Julien and Ozias Leduc gained prominence. French-Canadian painting then took on a nationalistic flavour with the works of Marc Aurile and Clarence Gagnon.

But one painter who had a significant impact on French-Canadian art was Alfred Pellon who introduced abstract painting and surrealism. Among the many other fine painters of distinction were Jean-Paul Riopelle, Paul-Emile Borduas, Roland Guiguere and Jacques de Tonnancour to mention but a few.

Although cities such as Montreal generally have the typical urban North American panorama, the distinctive architecture reaching back to the origins of New France can be seen throughout the province. Some of the most outstanding examples are found in Quebec City but other examples of large buildings and churches can be seen in centres such as Trois Rivières and Montreal. In particular, the traditional church architecture can be seen throughout the countryside.

The depth of the religious influence in Quebec is clearly evident in the sculpture of the province. The strong religious feeling shows itself in church interiors, altar pieces, tabernacles and pulpits. This development resulted in very distinct wood sculpture and some very fine silver work in the province. The wood sculptures vary from the very large pieces adorning major public buildings to the unique carvings of the Gaspé area.

French Canadians Outside Quebec

The History of the Acadians

Beside the French settlements along the St. Lawrence, there was another group of French settlers in Eastern Canada. Although their history was related and their cultural identity was the same, they have their own history of struggle and accomplishments. The settlement in Acadia was started in 1604 when Pierre du Guast, Sieur de Monts, established a colony at the mouth of the St. Croix River on the Bay of Fundy. St. Croix was not a good area to settle and in the spring of 1605 de Monts moved across the Bay of Fundy to Port Royal (Annapolis Royal).

De Monts returned to France in 1605 leaving the settlement in the hands of Samuel de Champlain. Under Champlain, the colony flourished and enjoyed a good life, especially after the Order of Good Cheer was started. But just when the colony began really to prosper, the French court decided to end the charter of de Monts and the colony was abandoned in the summer of 1607.

That decision, however, did not end French colonization in Acadia. In 1610 Bernard de Poutrincourt and his son, Biencourt, brought a party of settlers to re-establish the colony. In 1613 the Jesuits set up a mission in Acadia at St. Sauveur, but this roused the hostility of the English. They had established a settlement in Virginia and had no intention of letting French Catholics gain control of

The Order of Good Cheer

In an effort to keep up the spirits of the colonists during the long hard winters, Champlain instituted the famous Order of Good Cheer.

It would be tedious to attempt to particularize all that was done among us during the winter, as for example, to tell how the said M. de Poutrincourt many times ordered charcoal to be made; how he had paths constructed through the woods; how we went through the forest guided by compass and other such things as they occurred. But I shall relate how, in order to keep our table joyous and well provided, an Order was established, which was called the Order of Good Cheer, originally proposed by Champlain. To this Order each man of the said table was appointed Chief Steward in his turn, which came round once a fortnight. Now this person had the duty of taking care that we were all well and honourably provided for. This was so well carried out that, though the epicures of Paris often tell us that we had no Rue aux Ours over there, as a rule we made as good cheer as we could have in this same Rue aux Ours and at less cost. For there was no one who, two days before his turn came, failed to go hunting or fishing, and to bring back some delicacy in addition to our ordinary fare. So well was this carried out that never at breakfast did we lack some savoury meat of flesh or fish, and still less at our midday or evening meals; for that was our chief banquet, at which the ruler of the feast or chief butler, whom the savages call Atoctegic, having had everything prepared by the cook, marched in, napkin on shoulder, wand of office in hand, and around his neck the collar of the Order, which was worth more than four crowns; after him all the members of the Order, carrying each a dish. The same was repeated at dessert, though not always with so much pomp. And at night, before giving thanks to God, he handed over to his successor in the charge the collar of the Order, with a cup of wine, and they drank to each other.



the Atlantic coast. Samuel Argall was sent on an expedition, first against St. Sauveur and later against Port Royal. Both settlements were virtually wiped out, although Biencourt and some of his followers remained in the area living with the Indians and trading furs.

The period in Acadian history from about 1604 to 1632 was domi-

nated by the French-English conflict for control of the region. In some ways Acadia was a forgotten outpost as it was not as important for fur trading as the St. Lawrence area, but it was an important coastal region and the main port for the Atlantic fisheries. This period in many ways established the pattern of Acadian history. First it was in

French hands; then it was lost to the British; and later it was restored to the French.

In 1621 an enterprising Scotsman, Sir William Alexander, was granted the land between Gaspé and St. Croix and for two years tried to settle the colony. He called the colony Nova Scotia and for a brief period in 1627 Port Royal was settled again. But it never really took root and, in 1632, Acadia was restored to the French. Isaac de Rasse was sent out as lieutenant general and with 200 settlers re-established a colony near Port Royal and another French settlement at the mouth of the Saint John River across the Bay of Fundy. But after Rasse's death in 1636 there were two rival claimants as his successor. The bitter dispute between the two men, Charles de la Tour and Charles d'Aulnay-Charnisay, grew almost to a civil war. Both were interested in the fur trade and came into conflict over control of various trapping areas. The feud continued into the 1650s with La Tour established at Saint John and d'Aulnay at Port Royal.

However, just when the feud seemed over and it appeared that the colonies would be able to function harmoniously, Acadia was captured by an English expedition from the Massachusetts colony. The capture of the colony did not result in the expulsion of the Acadians nor was there a mass migration of English to the area. The stubborn Acadians continued to flourish under English control, and in 1668 Acadia was once again restored to France by the Treaty of Breda.

Under the new government structure, Acadia was now to come directly under the control of the officers at Quebec. But because of

the distance involved, the Acadians basically were left on their own. Despite neglect from both Quebec and France the colony continued to prosper. It grew in numbers and more of the rich marshlands along the Bay of Fundy were turned into farmlands by building dykes. However, true to the pattern of Acadian history, the progress was interrupted once more when Port Royal was captured and destroyed by Sir William Phips in 1690. But again in typical Acadian historical fashion, it was restored to France by the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697.

Through hard work the colony had continued to expand until 1697. After that time continual English raids harassed the colony. Finally, in 1710, a force of British regulars and a colonial force captured Port Royal. By the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713, France was forced to give up all claims to Acadia. As a result the Acadians were left to survive and maintain their distinctive way of life under the British. The colony was used to being neglected by the French government, and appeared able to cope.

In order to reduce any internal uprising in Acadia the British started to encourage British and German Protestants to immigrate to Acadia. These groups were settled at Halifax and Lunenburg along the eastern coast of Nova Scotia, away from the main Acadian settlements on the western shores of the Bay of Fundy. The Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 had stated that Acadians would have to leave Nova Scotia within a year or else pledge allegiance to Britain. This oath implied that they would have the right to practise their religion only within the context of British law. At that time, this would have meant severe restrictions on

the practice of Roman Catholicism. Many Acadians refused to take this oath and migrated to Isle Royal and Isle St. Jean. But those who remained showed sufficient tenacity that the British did not press too seriously for the oath.

But the situation changed with the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession in 1740. The Acadians were being encouraged by French authorities at Quebec and by abbé Le Loutre, a Catholic priest, to resist any further oath and to remain loyal to France. Operating from a base at Fort Beausejour, Le Loutre organized resistance among the Indians and Acadians.

The British governor at the time, Charles Lawrence, realized the potential danger of the situation and tried to ensure the loyalty of the Acadians. He insisted that they take an oath of allegiance but the oath was modified so that the Acadians would not be forced to do military service against the French. It was generally felt that such a move would at least make the Acadians neutral during the war. However, the Acadians refused to take the oath on the basis that it still restricted their religious practices. This, combined with Le Loutre's activities, led Lawrence to take very severe action.

In 1755 he ordered the expulsion of Acadians from Nova Scotia. Estimates of the number involved ranged from 6000 to 14 000. The hard-working and long-suffering Acadians were forced from their homes and transported to various other English colonies. Although originally the British had intended to keep families together, in the haste and confusion many families were split up never again to be reunited. The tragedy was made

worse because these hard-working Acadians were in no way responsible for the conflict in Europe that was causing the French and English to struggle over this piece of land in the New World. In essence the Acadians were pawns in an imperial struggle.

About ten years later when peace was restored, a thousand Acadians returned to what they considered to be their homeland. These men, women and children who returned formed the basis of the present French population in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. Their struggles and accomplishments have given them a heritage of which they can be proud.

The Acadians in New Brunswick Today

In early February of 1972, 50 people gathered to form a fourth political party in New Brunswick, Le Parti Acadian. They were a small group of French Acadians who were concerned about their loss of cultural identity, the economic plight of Acadians in New Brunswick, and what they considered to be a general neglect of Acadians by the traditional political parties in New Brunswick. The following article by Robert McKenzie shows the concern, frustration and future ambition of this new political party.

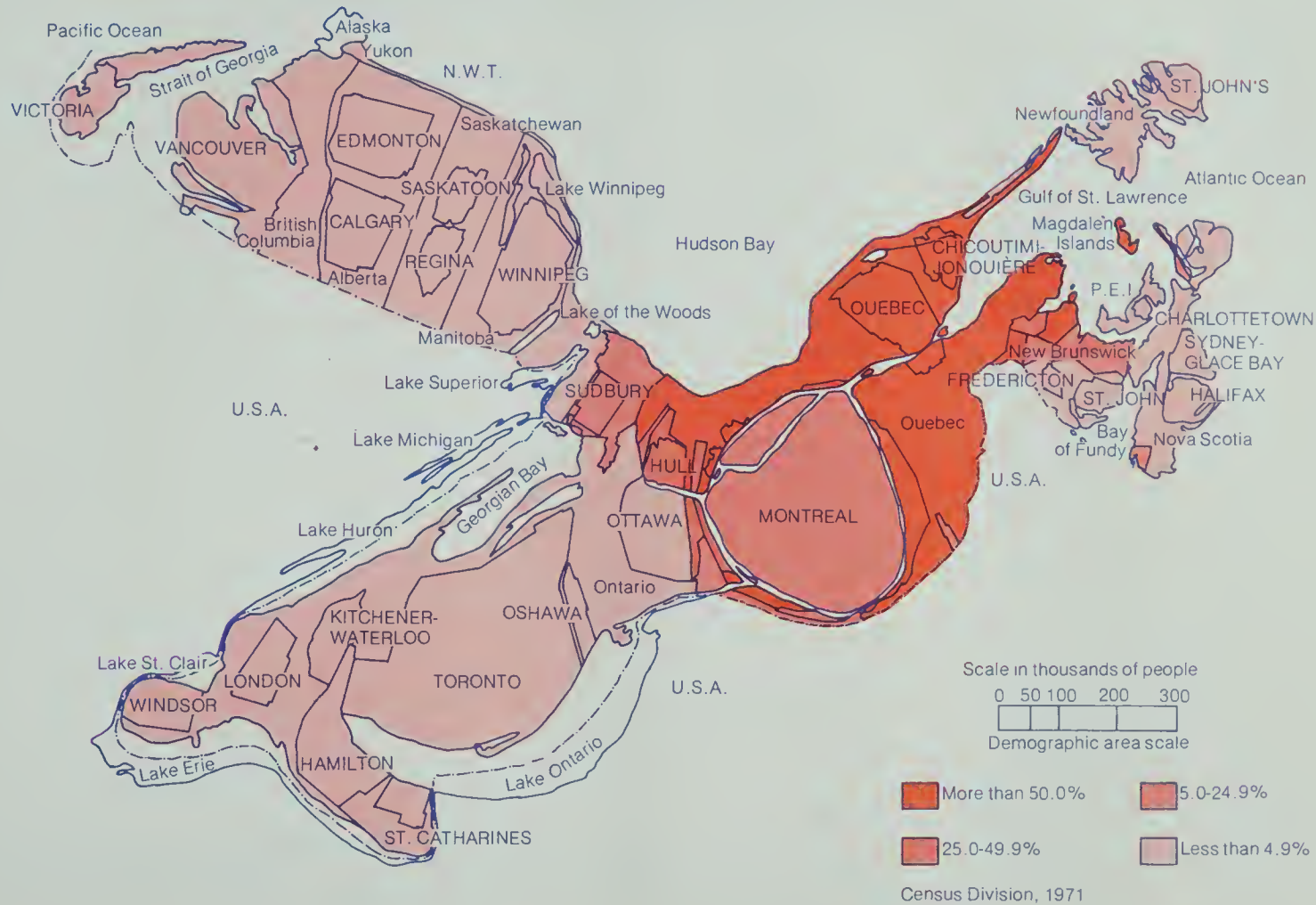
The head of Canada's newest political party — Le Parti Acadien — says the French-speaking population of New Brunswick is in the process of an "awakening" that will shatter the province's traditional political patterns.

Euclide Chiasson, a tall, bearded philosophy professor at Bathurst College, is founder of the first party to seek political power for French-

It is easy to see where French Canada has come from; much less so to see where it is going.

Guy Sylvestre

French-Speaking Population, by Census Division, 1971



speaking Acadians since their mass deportation and killing at the hands of the English in the mid-18th century.

Chiasson, 28-year-old son of a provincial government roads worker, says a new awareness of long-standing frustrations and "humiliations" — sky-high unemployment, failure to get proper bilingual government services, disgust with old-line politicians — is leading Acadians to shake off their traditional passivity in political matters.

"Someone said that the only way a revolution can happen is when the proletariat has nothing more to lose," said Chiasson. "That's pretty well where we're at now."

Chiasson hastened to add that the party doesn't stand for "socialism, separatism or any other ism."

Party Motto

The party will concentrate its efforts in the north and the east of the province, where the French proportion of the population ranges from 50 to 90 percent in certain ridings. Altogether Acadians make-up 40 percent of New Brunswick's 600 000 population.

"Our aim is to break this Acadian custom of begging for our rights and, instead, become a political force and negotiate for them. I am sure we cannot fail to restore a sense of pride and independence to

Acadians, and, if we do this, we will have succeeded before we even win a single seat."

The party's motto, inscribed on the \$2 membership card, is "La Fin de Notre Honte" — The End of Our Shame.

(Reprinted by permission of the *Toronto Star*, March 4, 1972.)

Some measure of the growing strength of the Le Parti Acadian can be seen in a statement by Federal Environment Minister, Jeanne Sauvé, when she said, "They represent a decisive political force and that's a fact that should shake up more than one politician."

Survival of the French Language

The statistics in the 1971 Census paint a rather gloomy picture of the chances for survival of the French-Canadian culture outside Quebec. Studies of the 1971 Census indicate that probably nothing can be done at this point and even Gerard Pelletier, architect of the federal government's language policy, admits, "It may be too late."

Studies show that the large number of people moving from the French-speaking communities in the West and western Ontario to large cities is the major cause of the decline of the French-Canadian culture. The chances for cultural survival in the large cities are less than in smaller rural communities.

Although there are indications that this may not be true for example in the city of Toronto, it is generally accepted that assimilation is quicker and more frequent in urban centres.

Here are some of the statistics showing this trend.

— Of the 482 000 people in Ontario claiming French as their mother tongue, only 352 000 used it in their homes.

— In Windsor, which has traditionally been a Franco-Ontarian stronghold, less than 50 percent of those claiming French as their mother tongue spoke it in the home.

— In Manitoba 6 percent of the people claimed French as their mother tongue, but only 4 percent spoke it in the home.

It is this kind of statistics that have led many academics and government officials to fear that the French-Canadian culture, and particularly the French language, is quickly disappearing outside Quebec.

Students' Perception of Their Facility in English and French by Grade and Province, 1971^{a b}

Grade	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
	percent							
Newfoundland:								
English only	93.2	98.3	97.7	95.6	98.1	97.6	100.0	91.4
French only	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0
Both	6.8	1.7	2.1	4.4	1.8	2.3	0.0	8.6
Nova Scotia:								
English only	98.4	97.7	95.6	94.0	93.3	88.5	85.9	—
French only	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	1.0	0.1	—
Both	1.4	2.2	3.6	5.0	6.5	10.5	13.7	—
New Brunswick:								
English only	94.4	93.6	94.7	94.2	93.9	91.3	89.8	—
French only	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.1	1.2	0.1	—
Both	5.3	6.3	5.1	5.4	5.8	7.3	9.8	—
Quebec:								
English only	36.1	18.2	13.3	9.2	5.9	6.5	0.3	0.0
French only	47.2	56.4	60.9	65.1	62.2	51.4	50.2	64.1
Both	16.3	25.0	25.2	25.4	31.4	41.9	49.5	35.9
Ontario:								
English only	93.6	90.3	89.6	86.4	83.8	80.5	77.5	68.1
French only	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.7	1.0	0.7
Both	5.5	8.9	9.6	12.7	14.9	18.6	21.1	31.1
Manitoba:								
English only	92.1	90.4	90.3	91.2	88.2	85.4	87.9	93.3
French only	0.6	0.6	0.8	0.4	0.5	0.7	0.2	0.0
Both	6.9	8.2	8.8	8.1	10.5	13.5	11.4	6.7
Saskatchewan:								
English only	98.2	97.4	95.9	97.0	94.2	94.4	91.1	—
French only	0.5	0.0	0.7	0.1	0.0	0.9	0.3	—
Both	1.2	2.5	3.4	2.8	5.7	4.7	8.5	—
Alberta:								
English only	95.3	94.8	94.6	93.9	88.7	86.1	84.6	—
French only	0.7	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.0	—
Both	3.7	4.5	5.0	5.7	11.0	13.4	15.3	—
British Columbia:								
English only	97.7	97.8	93.2	91.8	90.2	86.4	86.4	90.9
French only	0.1	0.1	0.5	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.3	0.0
Both	2.0	1.9	6.2	7.3	8.7	12.4	12.9	9.1
Canada:								
English only	90.6	80.5	82.4	77.9	72.3	68.8	74.8	68.1
French only	3.8	9.9	7.7	10.1	11.9	10.7	5.0	0.9
Both	5.3	9.3	9.6	11.7	15.4	20.3	19.9	30.9

^a Each student made a value judgement of his ability when answering the survey question, "Can you speak English or French well enough to conduct a conversation?" The "neither language" category was negligible, and has been omitted here; consequently the figures may not add to exactly 100 percent.

^b Data not available for Prince Edward Island.

Source: Statistics Canada, *Perspective Canada: A Compendium of Social Statistics* (Ottawa: 1974), Chart 11.14, p.230.

Challenge the kids, shake them up a bit, get them to put themselves in the other person's place, to feel what it is to be one of the minority

Kathleen Ruff,
BC Human Rights Director,
1975

Population by City of People of French Origin

Calgary	16 460
Edmonton	35 750
Halifax	18 835
Hamilton	20 515
Kingston	5 700
London	9 875
Montreal	1 762 690
Ottawa-Hull	238 495
Peterborough	2 630
Regina	6 195
Saint John	13 450
Sarnia	6 335
Saskatoon	6 410
St. John's	1 515
Sudbury	58 080
Sault Ste. Marie	10 410
Thunder Bay	7 050
Toronto	91 975
Vancouver	42 870
Victoria	6 155
Windsor	52 885
Winnipeg	46 205

Source: 1971 Census

The French Struggle Over Language in Manitoba

This article, also by Robert McKenzie, outlines the dramatic struggle and conflict of feeling among the French-Canadian population in Manitoba over the language issue. You can clearly see in this article that the struggle over language and education rights discussed earlier in the Manitoba School Question of the nineteenth century are anything but dead for the French-Canadian population.

The red T-shirts show a frog trying to pry its way out of a jar. The slogan underneath proclaims: "On va s'en sortir" (We'll get out of this).

The T-shirts were designed by a group of 11- and 12-year-olds whose parents have been fighting for seven months to save the only all-French

elementary school in Manitoba, the Ecole Tache, in the central Winnipeg district of St. Boniface.

Whether tenacity and defiant humour can halt the tide that is obviously running out for the French language in Manitoba remains doubtful.

The 1971 Canadian Census provided dramatic evidence of the declining vitality of the French-speaking community here, although its roots stretch back long before the founding of the province a century ago.

Although 60 545 Manitobans out of a total population of 899 250 gave French as their mother tongue, only 39 600 cited it as the language most often spoken at home. That's a shade less than the 39 665 who said German was the principal language at home and only slightly more than the 33 950 for whom Ukrainian was the domestic tongue.

Parents Picket

Even as Tache parents are picketing their shuttered school and organizing French classes in their homes, other French-speaking parents in rural communities are campaigning to have their children transferred to all-English schools. These parents, in La Broquerie municipality 80 kilometres southeast of Winnipeg, and at Notre Dame de Lourdes, 130 kilometres southwest, claim the English their children are learning in bilingual schools isn't good enough and their chances of future employment are being undermined.

While these disputes raise serious questions about the 1970 provincial legislation which lifted an 80-year-old ban on all-French public schools in Manitoba, there are perhaps graver long-range implications for the federal government.

Federal officials such as Language Commissioner Keith Spicer and Secretary of State Hugh Faulkner have been following the Manitoba situation closely. Although they must remain on the sidelines because education is a matter of provincial jurisdiction.

In a telephone conversation as early as last May, Spicer pointed out to Manitoba's education minister, Ben Hanuschak, that the fate of the Tache school has "symbolic importance on the national level."

The disquiet felt by federal officials is understandable: If French continues to wither in Manitoba and other Canadian provinces outside Quebec, what meaning will the official bilingualism of federal services across the country have in a few years?

Thoughts like these are running through the mind of Camille Legal, a father of two who is one of the leaders of the Tache parents' group.

"Last Chance"

"For me, this is one of the last chances for the French language in Manitoba," says Legal, a 31-year-old carpenter whose grandparents emigrated here from Brittany in France at the turn of the century.

"If we can't save the only all-French elementary school in Manitoba, what good does it do us that such schools are permitted by law?"

"And what good does it do for the federal government to squander public funds on bilingualism if this is the way things are going to be?"

Legal, tall and soft-spoken with boyish curly hair, says he and his wife, when they are depressed, sometimes discuss the possibility of uprooting themselves and settling in Quebec.

"It's terrible when the children

We want national dignity But dignity
isn't something you can simply reclaim
Dignity isn't locked up in an English
safe

Jean-Paul Desbiens

“I speak a different language than the parents and we don't want to have that problem in 10 years. But it's so big, Quebec, I don't know if I could earn my living there. . . .”

His voice trails off.

The struggle over Tache school goes back to March 26, 1974, when parents received a letter from the St. Boniface School Board informing them the school would be closed and their children transferred to the neighbouring Ecole Provencher.

The parents were assured their children would be able to pursue the so-called “A” program — all-French schooling — while the majority of children at Provencher continued to follow the “B” program which is 50 percent French and 50 percent English.

It was said the switch would save \$50 000 a year and that enrolment at Tache in any case was expected to drop steadily to only 152 by 1978.

But the Tache parents say the language spoken in the corridors and recreation yards of Provencher and other bilingual schools is English, and the French-speaking children who attend them become assimilated into the English community.

They are particularly bitter at La Société Franco-Manitobaine, an organization which traditionally defends French Manitoban interests. In this case it has sided with the school board, arguing that once the all-French “A” program is offered at Provencher, more and more children will quit the bilingual “B” program to join it.

“Name me one assimilated French Canadian in Manitoba who has been absorbed back by the French community,” says Camille Legal. “It's nonsense to suggest our children can assimilate the others.

“Past experience in Manitoba proves that if you want to produce someone who is bilingual you must send him to an all-French school; don't worry, he'll learn English all right. But if you send him to a bilingual school, he'll come out English-speaking.”

Last Friday, two weeks after school opened, there were still 138 former pupils of Tache who had not reported for classes at Provencher.

The parents were pinning their hopes on a promise of funds from the federal secretary of state — funds which would be made available if the Tache school were reopened as a pilot project for all-French elementary French schooling for the entire Winnipeg area.

Stormy Meeting

But Education Minister Hanuschak told the parents at a stormy meeting Monday the province will not make the necessary request to Ottawa.

Every morning, the striking children trot off to the home of a volunteer parent, usually a former teacher, where their class is held. As at school, a prayer is said, and the Canadian flag run up outside the door. The children sing O Canada, and attendance is taken.

“It's nothing for us to teach French school as outlaws,” says Yvonne Jamault, a volunteer teacher and prominent member of the parents' group.

“We ourselves had to learn French illegally at school, hiding our books.”

Mrs. Jamault was referring to the time before Duff Roblin's government of the 1960s eased a ban on public French schooling that had stood in Manitoba law since 1916.

Three of the five members of the school board which took the deci-

sion on Tache are English-speaking, including the chairman, Lloyd Davis, who is unilingually English. The school board superintendent, Peter Coleman, who is appointed, also speaks no French. Board meetings are in English.

Mrs. Jamault speaks with fire of the past battles to save French but becomes pensive as she reflects: “About the future, I don't know. Sometimes my oldest girl, Marie-Yvonne, makes so little effort. It's a sentence in French and then a sentence in English.”

At a Loss

Her husband Marcel, a teacher, tells how their 9-year-old son Bertrand, who had three years of the all-French course at Tache, sometimes is at a loss for the right word in English.

“That proves that French is really his language,” he says proudly. “But if they're forced to go to Provencher school, I'll tell you frankly they may take the ‘B’ (bilingual) course.”

French-speaking parents who want their children to learn more English sound like people from a different world.

In her small grocery store in Marchand 80 kilometres southeast of Winnipeg, Helena Gilbert spoke angrily of the school at nearby La Broquerie where her three children, aged 6, 8 and 9, are enrolled in a course which is supposed to be 85 percent English and only 15 percent French.

Mrs. Gilbert, who says she speaks French at home with her husband Albert, a 44-year-old metal worker, says: “The teacher speaks French when it's supposed to be the English class. The children are not learning good enough English.

"If you don't speak good English, you can never get a job in Winnipeg."

\$5 Prize

"When I was young," she adds, "one of my best friends had parents who wanted French in the home all the time. There was a prize of \$5 at the end of every month for the one who had spoken the most French. Well, do you know what happened to her? She had terrible trouble getting into a nursing course because her English was not good enough."

Mrs. Gilbert, who came to Winnipeg as a small child from the Gaspé area of Quebec, says her children speak English to each other and have trouble following classes in French.

Four other families have joined the Gilberts in asking that their children be transferred from La Broquerie to an all-English school in Steinbach.

Farmer Eugene Gaultier wants nine of his 13 children, who attend school at Notre Dame de Lourdes, 130 kilometres southwest of Winnipeg, to be transferred to an all-English school in Carman.

At a hearing by a special board in Winnipeg last week, Gaultier said his children have been scolded for speaking French in the school playground during recess.

"The children get all the French they need at home," said Gaultier. "To live in the West, they need English."

"False Picture"

At La Broquerie school, director Gilles Normandeau said Mrs. Gilbert's picture of the school is "absolutely false." Although the teachers in the school are all bilingual, said Normandeau, the 55 pupils who

have chosen English are taught in English 85 percent of the time.

The remainder of the 200 elementary pupils at the school are French-speaking but a *Star* reporter and photographer wandering around the schoolyard during recess could hear only English: "Outta my way, boy . . . Are you kiddin'? . . . I'll kill you, pea soup."

A report on French-language education in Manitoba prepared for the Schreyer government last year by Olivier Tremblay, a consultant on loan from the Quebec government, admitted there is a "serious malaise."

"The state of French-language teaching in Manitoba is deplorable, and even alarming," said the report. "Generally speaking French is taught only as a second language."

One of the most alarming statistics in the report concerned the drop in French school enrolment despite the fact that Bill 113 in 1970 had legalized all-French schools. In 1969-70, there were 11 401 students taking at least one French class in Manitoba. By 1973, the figure was 9814, a loss of 23 percent in three years.

Since then, Tremblay himself has been appointed coordinator of French education in the province, although he had recommended a Franco-Manitoba be chosen for the job. The Tache parents say he has shown no sympathy for their cause.

(Reprinted by permission of the Toronto *Star*, September 18, 1974.)

The Struggle Goes On in Saskatchewan

Many of the problems of the people in Manitoba are the same for the French Canadians in Saskatchewan. This brief article will give you a glimpse of the struggle the French-Canadian population in Saskatchewan is having to keep its cultural identity.

Willow Bunch, Sask. — The old priest, Curé Adrien Chabot, is standing at his desk in the big brown brick rectory looking out the window at the children pouring out of the Willow Bunch school across the street and breaking into the animated English of the young.

"That's what makes me angriest," he says. "We did all we could so that they could learn French but as soon as they're out of school they start speaking English among themselves — some parents have to force their children to speak French at home."

"Everything is in English," he continues.

The French-speaking inhabitants of this dusty, dying little town have been fighting a running battle with militant English-speaking groups from the surrounding area for more than half a century trying to maintain their French, and at one time Roman Catholic, character.

Television Big Factor

Survival hasn't been easy for Saskatchewan's 54 000 French Canadians; 100 years ago francophones were in the majority, but today they account for only 6 percent of the population.

The 1971 Census shows that only 31 600 French Canadians (or 4.5 percent of the population) still speak French.

The rate of assimilation into the majority-language group is faster in urban areas than it is in rural areas, protected by isolation, but nowhere is French growing in Saskatchewan.

"I don't know if we'll be speaking French here 10 years from now," Father Chabot says. "But then," he grins, "They've been saying that for the last 50 years."

Television is a big factor. "It's only in English," he says. "It wasn't the same before television."

Great Strides

The Association Culturelle Franco-Canadienne de la Saskatchewan has been clamouring for a French-language television station for several years. Toronto, Winnipeg and Edmonton all have Radio-Canada TV stations, but not Saskatchewan. The federal government has promised \$50 million to expand CBC French-language service across the country, but the French community here is still waiting.

The ACFC directors find it unfair that there's an English-language TV station in Quebec City for 15 000 anglophones but no French station in Saskatchewan.

Roger Lepage, a young organizer for the ACFC, says, "If anything can save us, it'll be education."

Great strides have been made in recent years, he figures. Five years ago it cost \$1250 a year for tuition, room and board at the Collège Mathieu in Gravelbourg. Today, because of increased government grants, it costs only \$450. Mr. Lepage studied there and went on to the University of Regina, which is offering a 50 percent bilingual program. He says the quality of French was so high that he had no trouble getting accepted for a master's program at Laval University this fall. A

1968 provincial law designated certain schools as bilingual with as much as 75 percent French education in Grade 1. Today there are 12 "designated" schools in the province.

Rolland Pinsonneault, 60, who has been here 35 years, is a retired farmer and full-time deputy director of the ACFC. "Education has only slowed down the rate of assimilation a little in the last two years," he says.

French is taught as a subject 30 min a day in all provincial schools, "But that's just enough to make teachers and pupils hate it — even some of our own people."

Unlike other provinces such as Quebec and Ontario, Saskatchewan permits anyone with a teacher's certificate to teach French. There are still many French teachers who don't know how to speak French.

"Some of our own people are the strongest against us," Mr. Pinsonneault says angrily. "They're afraid to take a stand on education, to upset things, to disturb their neighbours."

Signs in English

In Willow Bunch all the signs are in English. Businessmen are afraid of losing business from the English-speaking element, which makes up a third of the population. Only the post office and the museum have signs in both languages. The name Willow Bunch is actually the English equivalent of the original Talle de Saules, which Post Office officials changed in 1896 and the local residents accepted quietly.

"I'd like to find out who did that," Father Chabot says. ACFC leaders see a new spirit among young anglophone professionals in the cities. In Regina, at the "designated" St. Pius

X School, 80 percent of the children are from English-speaking families who want their children taught partly in French.

Reluctant

"The big problem for us is that we're scattered around the four corners of this province," Mr. Pinsonneault said. "Some people have to drive 560 kilometres for a meeting."

Getting services in French is still difficult.

"I was in Ponteix earlier this year and tried to call long distance to Gravelbourg 64 kilometres away," Mr. Lepage says. "There was no French operator even though those two places are French, so the operator called Montreal and the Montreal operator translated for her so she could call Gravelbourg for me. How do you like that?"

In nearby Assiniboia, Lise Beaudry, 17, a waitress, admits reluctantly that she speaks French, after looking around to make sure no anglophones are listening.

"Around here you don't show off publicly that you speak French — or any other language," Mr. Pinsonneault says. "I keep telling my Ukrainian friends that we're in a majority here but we're led by a bunch of WASPs and it's time we got together."

Mr. Pinsonneault has six children. Three have gone to live in Quebec. "They've become separatists and won't come back," he says.

(Reprinted by permission of the *Globe and Mail*, June 17, 1974.)

Regulation 17

No other incident did more to colour the attitudes of Ontario and Quebec towards each other than the issue of Regulation 17 in Ontario which began in 1912. The purpose of the bill was very clear; to limit the rights of French Canadians in Ontario.

Section 3

1. Where necessary in the case of French-speaking pupils, French may be used as the language of instruction and communication; but such use of French shall not be continued beyond Form I, expecting during the school year of 1912-13, when it may also be used as the language of instruction and communication in the case of pupils beyond Form I who, owing to previous defective training, are unable to speak and understand the English language.

2. In the case of French-speaking pupils who are unable to speak the English language well enough for the purposes of instruction and communication, the following provision is hereby made: (a) As soon as the pupil enters the school he shall begin the study and use of the English language; (b) As soon as the pupil has acquired sufficient facility in the use of the English language he shall take up in that language the course of study as prescribed for the Public and Separate Schools.

Section 4

In schools where French has hitherto been a subject of study, the Public or the Separate School Board may provide for instruction in French Reading, Grammar, and Composition in Forms I to IV in addition to the subjects prescribed for the Public and Separate Schools.

The issue of the use of French in Ontario schools roused the same sort of feelings as the conflicts of Riel, the Manitoba School Question, the Boer War, and later the conscription crises of World Wars I and II. In 1912, when Regulation 17 was introduced, French-English relations were not good, but as the conscription crisis raged on through the Great War the emotion and bitterness spiralled.

However, at the end of the war feelings started to return to normal. The regulation, which had never been fully enforced, was withdrawn in 1927. In spite of this, the very fact that English Canadians had attempted to eliminate the rights of French Canadians guaranteed them in the Constitution created a sense of bitterness among French Canadians in Ontario that was to last for many years.

The French-Canadian Community in Toronto

As we noted earlier, it is generally assumed that the French Canadians are more likely to be assimilated in large urban areas. This pattern held true in the city of Toronto for many generations of French Canadians. However, in recent years there has been a resurgence of the French-Canadian community in Toronto. Although the problems still remain, there is a general feeling, at least by those interviewed for the following article by Janice Dineen, that the French-Canadian culture is alive and well in Toronto, and that it will continue to prosper.

Jean-Raymond Saint-Cyr has a warm and friendly manner, and when he meets people in the corridors of his office building he smiles and says "bonjour."

When he first came to Toronto 10 years ago, people would respond by looking embarrassed and ignoring him.

Today they smile back and are likely to reply with a cheerful "bonjour" of their own.

It is a small but significant sign of the growing place French Canadians have carved for themselves in Metro over the past 10 years.

"We now feel we belong here," explained Saint-Cyr, station manager of CJBC radio, Toronto's

French-language station.

"We are still French Canadian and we will never be assimilated, but we are pleased to live in Toronto with English-speaking people. We are all Canadians."

Incomes and Politics Vary

As old English-dominated Toronto was learning to widen its horizons to include immigrants from all over the world, its French-speaking countrymen took advantage of the new attitudes to weave their own culture firmly into the community fabric.

There is no French quarter in Toronto. But there are about 100 000 French-speaking residents scattered throughout Metro covering all ages, income levels and political views.

The majority have come from Quebec, but many have moved from New Brunswick, Manitoba and other parts of Ontario.

When Saint-Cyr, his wife and five children moved to Toronto from a small French-speaking community near Ottawa 10 years ago, there was little to encourage them to keep their French identity: One elementary school, one small private high school and one French Catholic parish.

Today there are two parishes, 10 elementary schools (both public and separate school boards), a public high school, bilingual Glendon College, a weekly newspaper and a radio and a television station, as well as a variety of French theatres, film festivals, bookstores, restaurants and cultural centres.

They Feel Free Here

"Today this is a positive city for us. We feel free here," said Micheline St.-Cyr, director of La Chasse-Galerie of Jarvis St., a French cultural centre. She is married to Jean-Ray-

With two colonial beginnings, two languages, two main religions, Canada is really two countries, held together by three nation-saving bywords — conservatism, caution and compromise
William Toye

mond Saint-Cyr and retains the French spelling of the name.

Although Mme. St.-Cyr finds Toronto "a very nice city, very open, better and better each year for French-speaking people" she said there are still great strides to be made.

"To look at the law of this country, you would think it is bilingual," she said. "But the fact is, Canada is not a bilingual country and Toronto is not a bilingual city."

"When French Canadians come here not knowing English, it is impossible to live."

La Chasse-Galerie provides services for French-speaking people arriving in Toronto, to help them get settled, find jobs and locate the French shops and services in Metro.

There are few jobs for those who only speak French, but more than 300 companies and government agencies have registered at La Chasse-Galerie as potential employers for bilingual job-seekers.

The cultural centre imports French-Canadian talent for occasional concerts and holds craft classes in French where participants learn weaving, sewing, pottery-making and puppeteering. The products are sold in the galerie boutique along with other items — like T-shirts which read "Frog Power."

A few years ago, French Canadians in Toronto tended to be strong anti-separatists who came here for negative reasons, getting away from the political situation in Quebec. Today, they are more likely to be what ex-Montrealer Wilf Lavigne calls "economic refugees."

Political Problems

"People aren't getting away from political problems now, they are

moving to the economic capital of Canada," Lavigne said. "Toronto might not have the ambience of Montreal, but it has all the wealth."

The money and the jobs are even attracting young separatists to Toronto, like Yvon Gaudet, City Hall reporter for CBLFT, the French television program.

Gaudet, 26, sees Toronto as a stopping-over point where he can make money and gain experience before returning to Drummondville, Quebec, to start a newspaper and run for political office.

"In Toronto, French is like Latin," he says bitterly. "It is a dead language, but it is still taught because upper middle-class people think it is fashionable."

Gaudet has had unhappy experiences trying to speak French to police, Canada Manpower officials and post office staff, and getting only blank stares in return.

He has some difficulty giving a varied coverage of Toronto City Hall for his French station because only four of the 23 council members speak French. During the last municipal election campaign, one alderman refused to take the time to give him an interview, not considering CBLFT a significant way of getting to the voters.

The audiences for the French radio and television stations are hard to gauge. Surveys have indicated that about 60 000 Metro area people listen to CJBC, but Saint-Cyr says he believes the figure is closer to 125 000.

Saint-Cyr said the station aims to give all the news in French, plus news of special interest to the French-speaking community, such as a discussion of the work of a French Canadian in a Toronto gallery exhibit.

"You won't hear any American rock music on this station," Saint-Cyr said. "You will hear French songs, very personal music, and the lyrics have messages."

Early each weekday morning the station offers an oral bulletin board for which listeners phone in with a jumble of announcements: apartments for rent, babysitters available, dogs lost, new French shops opening. The two announcers and the callers chat excitedly like old friends.

Made Them Warm

If many French Canadians find Toronto cold at first, it may be because their training and tradition have made them warm, colourful people, fervent in their likes and dislikes, quick to see the funny side of the situation.

"Toronto people are very serious; they don't laugh enough," said Wilf Lavigne, who came from Montreal to work in a Toronto advertising agency. Lavigne and 150 others who share this view have founded the Quebec Society of Upper Canada, a social group that meets to try to recapture the convivial atmosphere left behind in Quebec.

Leaving the warmth of a small French-Canadian town for the vast anonymity of Toronto can be devastating.

Recently a young man who came to Toronto from the outskirts of Quebec City asked to speak to Father Evain Marchand, pastor of Sacred Heart French church on Sherbourne St. The man had come to learn English, and was living with an English-speaking family, speaking English at work and studying it at night school. He was feeling hideously depressed and could not find a reason.

As soon as he sat down with the priest, the man burst into tears.

"He cried and cried, and kept saying 'I don't know what's wrong with me,'" Father Marchand recalled. "He had lost all touch with his culture and heritage — he had nowhere to feel at home."

The priest steered him to a few dances and social functions organized for French-speaking young people, and the man found French-speaking friends and a happier outlook.

The church is a focal point for many French Canadians in Metro. It is not only a religious centre, but also a source of counselling and social events. There is even a French-speaking credit union at Sacred Heart church.

Because of the counselling and because of the comfort of religion, many French Canadians become closer to the church in Toronto than they were in their original communities. It is a touch of home, a way to help them through the cultural shock.

Others, by contrast, stop practising their religion when they arrive in Toronto and find themselves free of the social pressures to attend church that they felt in small French-speaking towns.

Father Evain Marchand, who can remember when he was told to "speak white" on Toronto streets, has noticed a dramatic change over the past few years in the pride Toronto's French Canadians feel in their background and culture.

Other Groups

"The French who stayed used to get Anglicized — their children intermarried with other groups and it was a losing battle to hold on to the traditions," he said.

"Today we are not afraid to assert ourselves. We have a much better chance of keeping our identity."

Micheline St.-Cyr sees it as a cause.

"French-Canadian culture is the culture of everyone in Canada," she said. "The more available we make it, the better we will all understand each other."

(Reprinted by permission of the *Toronto Star*, May 24, 1975.)

Conclusion

As you can see, French Canadians outside Quebec are just as concerned about keeping their cultural identity as those in the province of Quebec. Whether or not their struggle for cultural identity will be successful remains to be seen, but they strongly oppose assimilation with the English majority.

The French-Canadian Miracle

The term the "French-Canadian miracle" is frequently used to describe the survival of the French-Canadian culture on the North American continent over the last three hundred years. This survival boils down to one unalterable fact — the desire of French Canadians to live as a cultural group. It is this underlying goal that has pervaded the writings of all nationalist historians, nationalist groups, strong provincial governments, political leaders and all separatist movements. Without this underlying spirit it is doubtful if there would be the distinctive French-Canadian culture that we know today.

Summary

"*Je me souviens*," "I remember," is the motto of the province of Quebec. Quebecois do not question the nature of their identity. For them, it is clear. They know who they are and where they have come from at least as well as any other group in Canada. Today, it is this common awareness of a proud heritage that gives them the determination to maintain their separate identity.

For two centuries before the British conquest there were French settlements in Canada. Although the seigneurial system of New France was in some ways similar to the feudal system of the mother country, life in the colony was much more relaxed and allowed greater personal independence.

After the conquest, the English soon discovered that the *Canadiens* were too firmly established to be assimilated. The Quebec Act gave official recognition to the continued use of French law, language, customs and the Roman Catholic Church. However, there were still many challenges ahead for French Canadians.

At the close of the Second World War, the traditional Quebec society was beginning to change in response to the rapid industrialization of the economy. The reforms started by the Quiet Revolution reflected this new mood. But today a growing number of separatists believe that only political independence will guarantee the survival of French Canada in North America. Meanwhile, the sizeable French-speaking minorities living outside Quebec also want their cultures to be respected and to receive the same treatment that Quebec has always shown its English-speaking minority.

Chapter Five: Our Multicultural Heritage



What are some of the achievements of Canada's many cultural groups?

How have the needs and experiences of each group differed?

Have Canadian immigrants been discriminated against?

How are the lives of all Canadians similar?



On October 8, 1971, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau stated that the government of Canada was committed to a policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework. This would serve as a cornerstone of Canadian society. Although Canada recognizes two official languages, there is no official culture. We are all free to be ourselves. It is pointless to argue whether or not Canada is a multicultural society. Of course it is! The 1971 Census showed that at least one in four Canadians is not of English or French origin. Indeed, Canada's population includes people from almost every country in the world.

In the following pages we will examine the rich cultural heritages of a great many Canadians. The people from these very different backgrounds have contributed a great deal to Canada's national development. If, however, we look at the cultural heritage of each group separately, there is a danger of emphasizing only the differences between them. Although our cultures may differ, our problems and basic needs are often very similar. Today, we share many common experiences as Canadians. If we can discover some common ground, we may be better able to respect and ensure the survival of the different lifestyles that so enrich our national mosaic.

The reasons why people come to Canada today are much the same as they have always been. Some leave their homelands because they cannot find work, and others because of war, hunger, or political or religious persecution. They come to build a new life and to give their children a better chance. They know this will not be easy. However, like any other Canadian, they have a right to expect a fair deal in return for their hard work. Multiculturalism cannot serve just a few Canadians, it should give everyone the opportunity for individual growth.

Canada is often described by what it is
not unlike the U S A unlike Britain
a grouping of peoples who love
their country but not each other
Barnet Litinoff

In previous chapters we have examined both the native peoples of Canada and the historical evolution of the two charter groups in Canadian society, the British and the French. Now it is time to consider another aspect of the Canadian population, immigrants from other lands.

The history of immigration from Europe, Asia, Africa, Oceania, Latin America and the Caribbean is a complex one. To understand fully the motives and aspirations of immigrants and the conditions they encountered in Canada would require more space than is available here. Instead, we hope to highlight some of the people who have chosen Canada as their new home in order to give an idea of the richness of the cultural contributions made by all new Canadians.

The Dominance of the
Charter Groups

We should first see how much the charter groups dominated Canadian society only a century ago. Then we can better appreciate the impact that various other immigrant groups have had on Canada. The official census of 1871 showed the following distribution of people (other than native peoples).

Distribution of
Population, 1871

French	1 082 940
Irish	846 000
English	706 000
Scots	546 000
German	202 000
Dutch	29 000
Africans ^a	21 000
Others	Less than 20 000
	per group

^aPrimarily former Negro slaves from the United States.

Cultural Organizations^a

Number of organi- zations		Number of organi- zations		Number of organi- zations	
African	8	French	7	Norwegian	8
Arab	13	German	43	Pakistani	3
Armenian	15	Greek	31	Philippine	5
Austrian	4	Haitian	2	Polish	45
Baltic	5	Hungarian	20	Portuguese	12
Belgian	3	Icelandic	6	Romanian	7
Black	11	Inter-Ethnic	19	Russian	10
Bulgarian	2	Italian	66	Scandinavian	3
Byelorussian	4	Japanese	21	Serbian	10
Caribbean	6	Jewish	26	Slovak	11
Chinese	36	Korean	6	Slovenian	8
Croatian	14	Latin American	2	Spanish	13
Czech	12	Latvian	17	Swedish	7
Danish	8	Lebanese-Syrian	4	Swiss	8
Doukhobor	8	Lithuanian	21	Turkish	2
Dutch	20	Macedonian	4	Ukrainian	42
East Indian	15	Malaysian	1	West Indian	3
Estonian	24	Maltese	3	Yugoslav	3
Finnish	18	Moslem	5		

^a In some cases only the head office of an organization is counted even though branches may exist in many centres. Also, if an organization does not advise the Secretary of State's office of its existence it will not be counted.

Source: Statistics Canada, *Perspective Canada: A Compendium of Social Statistics* (Ottawa: 1974), Chart 13: 27, p. 282.

From these statistics it is clear that, except for the Germans, no ethnic group apart from the British and French played an important role in Canada before Confederation. Many of the Germanic people recorded in the 1871 Census had been resident in Canada for generations. Some were descended from a party of 2000 immigrants to Nova Scotia who had arrived between 1750 and 1752. Others came to Canada following the American Revolution and were Loyalists of German origin.

With expansion westward, however, the ethnic composition of Canada began to change. Canada was united as a nation with the passage of the British North America Act in 1867. However, from the very beginning Canada was faced with

serious problems. On the East Coast, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland declined to join Confederation at the beginning. In the West, a vast expanse of territory lay open and under the control of the Hudson's Bay Company. And along the Pacific Coast ran the struggling little colony of British Columbia.

The Presence of the USA

To the south stood the United States. At the end of the American Civil War, the United States had the largest standing army in the world. As the British, and therefore Canada, had supported the Confederacy, the United States was somewhat hostile towards the remaining British colonies. The United States had always held firmly to the idea

that the Canadian territory would inevitably come under American control.

The Americans had invaded Canada during their War of Independence and during the War of 1812. They had, in 1823, proclaimed the principle of Manifest Destiny — the idea that it was the fate of the United States to rule all the Western hemisphere. Again, in 1844, the successful candidate for the US presidency, James Polk, had won on the slogan “54:40 or Fight.” This slogan stated flatly that if the United States did not take over Canadian territory as far north as Hudson Bay, there would be a threat of war between the United States and the British Empire. These events, combined with a number of border disputes including conflicts over the ownership of Oregon Territory and part of the State of Maine, left Canadians very uneasy. It seemed to many people that the political and economic survival of Canada depended on its ability to fill in the largely empty spaces along the American border. There were not enough British people willing to begin homesteading on the plains. The Canadian government therefore decided to look elsewhere.

Major Cultural Groups in Canada

In order to appreciate more fully the contribution some of the people who have chosen to emigrate to Canada have made, it is helpful to study a number of different groups. In the rest of this chapter we will examine selected groups and learn a little about each, the problems they have faced and the efforts they have made to make Canada what it is today.

The Germans

The earliest German settlement in Canada dates back well over 200 years to 1750 with the founding of a small colony in Nova Scotia. The first major British settlement on the Canadian mainland had only been in existence for about a year when this small group of Germans arrived. From this early settlement the German community has grown, not only in numbers, but in its tremendous contribution to the Canadian mosaic. Some of our most renowned artists, musicians, scientists, architects and entertainers are of German origin.

In this brief glimpse of some aspects of the German-Canadian communities in Canada you will be able to see the impact this cultural group has made on the Canadian scene.

Earliest Immigration

The group that arrived to establish a settlement in Nova Scotia in 1750 were part of a group of 3000 settlers who were to populate Nova Scotia over the next few years. Three years after the initial settlement about 1500 Germans from the Halifax area moved down the coast to establish their own settlement at Lunenburg. This group was skilled in ship building, sailing and fishing and passed down from one generation to the next the skills for which Nova Scotia is renowned.

The next wave of German-speaking migration came at the end of the eighteenth century and was directly related to the American Revolution. Before the Revolution several hundred thousand people of German origin had settled in Pennsylvania, New York and as far south as Georgia. However, many of these

people remained loyal to the British crown during and after the Revolution. Many decided to move north to British North America following the Revolution. There were, therefore, many Germans in the 30 000 people we usually refer to as the United Empire Loyalists.

The primary areas of settlement for these groups were the north shores of the St. Lawrence, Lake Ontario, Lake Erie and the Eastern Townships, southeast of Montreal. In addition, a few settled on the south shore of the St. Lawrence between Montreal and Quebec City as well as in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. In return for their loyalty these people were given grants of free land and supplies to help them establish a new life in a new environment.

Early Settlement in Ontario

As Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, Colonel John Graves Simcoe issued a proclamation inviting all people in the United States still loyal to Britain to emigrate to Upper Canada for free land. A considerable number of people of German origin moved north. They were part of what is often referred to as “late loyalists.” Many of these people who came between 1800 and 1837 were German-speaking settlers from New Jersey and Pennsylvania. The majority of those who did move to Canada were Mennonites who were not only loyal to the Crown but also interested in free land.

This wave of settlement was primarily concentrated in and around the Waterloo County area. After 1830 people began to immigrate directly from Germany to this area. Since the Mennonite community made up the greatest part of the settlement in Waterloo County, it is

not surprising that the majority of those who came directly from Germany were also Mennonites.

However, all of those coming directly from Germany did not settle in Waterloo County. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, settlements began to develop in Perth, Bruce, Grey and Huron Counties. Today there are still quite large German-Canadian communities in these areas.

The Early Days in Waterloo County

In the following article, William G. Moyer outlines the hardships and achievements of the early settlers to the area of Waterloo County.

The area of Canada that eventually became Waterloo County, and then became the home of thousands of people of German extraction was one of the most beautiful primeval forest areas in all of Ontario.

For thousands of years the Indians had known the beauty and tranquillity of this heavily wooded area that offered fast flowing rivers such as the Grand, the Nith and the Conestoga, and which also offered many types of wildlife and wide varieties of berries and other products of nature's bounty.

The government had, at one time, offered the Indians some 230 000 ha of land along the banks of the Grand River from Lake Erie to its source, far to the north, and Waterloo County which was formed many years later, was a part of that land. Some tribes roamed freely through the area, moving from camp to camp while others settled in one spot and some built fortifications against marauders. Some of these fortifications have been uncovered in the past few years by University



groups looking for items from the past.

The Indians very rarely, if ever, were a problem to the people who first settled Waterloo County. The Mennonites who were the first to arrive came from Pennsylvania in huge covered wagons. They had no idea what to expect here after an arduous 800-kilometre journey through the Allegheny mountains and then across the Niagara River. What they did find is well recorded and proves that in almost all cases, the Indians proved friendly and, at times, helpful.

Those early settlers, the Mennonites from Pennsylvania were basically of Germanic stock. Most had forebearers, like my own, who travelled to Pennsylvania from places like Bavaria, Alsace, the Palatinate and from Hesse and the Rhineland. They were also German people who had lived for a time in Holland before emigrating to America to live in William Penn's new state in religious

freedom. They spoke a dialect called "Pennsylvania Deutsch" and were natural kin to the people who later moved directly from Germany to Waterloo County.

One of the early settlers was named Samuel Eby. As time went by he became known far and wide as Indian Sam. This was because he began to work with the Indians. He taught them the easiest way to grow ground crops, to use the white man's farm implements and he acted as their teacher, minister, doctor and lawyer. Eventually Sam Eby also learned some of the Indian languages and customs which he explained to the settlers, acting as a liaison, to help such different people understand each other.

The Mennonites were basically a religious, agricultural people. They were most interested in farming and the various things associated with it. They built sawmills and gristmills, but these were a part of the farm life and, although they were the first

I know what discrimination is. I know how much easier it would have been if my name had been Bannerman, which was my mother's name.

John G. Diefenbaker

industries in the county, did not constitute "industry" as we think of it today.

There were exceptions of course: small cabinet and wood-working shops; pump factories; saddle makers; and carriage wagon makers. But none was of any major size. It was the Germans who began arriving later, directly from Germany, who brought their craftsmanship and business skills with them and started the first factories and real industries here.

One of the best and most successful finders and preservers of Indian history was a man named J.G. Stroh who had come from the Hesse region in Germany. Stroh discovered many Indian relics and artifacts. In 1880, he discovered a ruined Indian fort just north of the city of Waterloo. He described it as containing 50 to 100 separate campsites, each surrounded by a moat or ditch. The fort, he said, covered several acres and when it was worked by amateur archaeologists, it was found to hold hundreds of fascinating things. Among the finds were Indian pottery, warheads, implements and old pipes. Many of these things are still on display at the Doon Pioneer Village here. Stroh also uncovered a couple of huge rocks. One was preserved and proved to be a former grinding rock on which the Indians had made arrowheads and had worked leather into practical lengths and widths for their clothing.

Eby and Stroh were good examples of how the Indians and the German Canadian people got along. In early years a man named Frederick Gaukel, another immigrant from Germany, bought a hotel in what is now downtown Kitchener, but was then just a main corner in a very

small village called Ebytown. Mr. Gaukel allowed the Indians to come to his establishment and rest there after they had done their trading in the village. They would bring deer and wild geese and ducks to be traded for more refined things such as wool and cotton and manufactured products.

Many well documented stories also tell of Indians coming to a home and trading with the people during the day and then sleeping in the kitchen, near the stove, for the night. They loved cakes and sweet things which were home-made by the women and would often offer to do some work in exchange for some of these good things to eat.

In later years, Indians began to realize that there was a market for their hand-weaving, basket-making and leatherwork. For some years, in the memory of older people still living, the Indians of the area would sell their wares from door to door and walk for many, many kilometres while selling the goods. When night arrived they frequently slept in a farmer's barn or in the kitchen of a town dweller. . . .

Sometime after the first immigrants arrived from Germany, the original settlers got together and decided that for two reasons they would change the name of their village of Ebytown. They felt that they wanted a more cosmopolitan name and they also wanted to make the new people feel more at home. So the original settlers, not the newcomers, decided to change the name from Ebytown to Berlin. And that name remained from 1830 until 1916.

As we know from articles published in the *Berlin Journal* in Berlin, Ontario, some of the early German immigrants were not poor and soon

acquired some wealth.

But others of the first Germans to come to this area did not have financial resources of their own. In fact some came and brought their families, arriving with little more than what they had on their backs and whatever they could carry. In one instance a man who had recently arrived here from Kassel wrote to a friend and told him to come quickly. John Nahrgang wrote to Jost Stroh of Lehrbach, Hesse-Darmstadt, a small landholder and wagon-maker, urging him to come to Canada, saying that good land could be bought at low prices and things were very good here. Jost Stroh thought it over, remembering that his sons would soon be required to serve seven years in the army and that he himself had to pay half a dozen different kinds of taxes in Germany. So he made up his mind to emigrate.

After a 'Grüss Gott' from relatives, Mr. Stroh and his wife and four sons set out for Canada and Waterloo County. It was a twelve week sea voyage to arrive in America. From New York it was still a long journey by steamer, train and wagon to their destination in Berlin, Ontario. They hired a negro driver to bring them from Hamilton to Preston. When the Stroh family finally stepped into the home of their friend John Nahrgang in their new country, they had a combined total of nine cents in resources.

But work was plentiful, and the Stroh family soon became homeowners and still later, two of the sons bought their own farms while another opened his own shoe-maker's shop and another worked contentedly in a factory. Jost Stroh's son, Henry, married Frederick Gaukel's daughter Susannah,

The Canadian people in rural life are noted for physical strength, mental power, and moral stability. Surely Canada has before her a bright future.
C A Zavitz, 1924

and Mr. Jacob Stroh, the collector of Indian artifacts spoken of earlier, was one of their sons.

After the original settlers had opened trails and small roads, pony express riders delivered the mail. As years passed and roadways improved, stage coaches served the area. In turn, the running of the stage coaches brought about better roads.

The stage coaches which ran through this area for more than 35 years carried mail as well as passengers and also, very often, acted almost like our present day transport trucks.

Men named Sherk, Roos, Stengle and Ziegler all had stage coach runs through this area. With a whip in the top seat and baggage stored in the boot at the back and a horn to blare at each stop, they added a colourful commodity to the era.

As progress came to the area and the communities grew and the farmer's lands stretched farther and farther into the countryside, the Indians, the original inhabitants of the land, found themselves moving further away.

Along with Berlin, Waterloo County towns bore such names as Breslau, Heidelberg, Mannheim and New Germany. But, probably to become as well known as any of the villages, because of its sons, was the village of Baden. From that town came Sir Adam Beck, son of a German immigrant, who became a much honoured citizen of the province and the country. . . . The early days of settlement and growth in Waterloo were hard but colourful days, and the German stock so prevalent through its entire early period, laid a firm foundation for its future growth.

(Reprinted by permission of the Historical Society of Mecklenburg, Upper Canada.)

German Settlement in Western Canada

As free land became less available in Eastern Canada people began to look towards the potential of the vast Western Prairies. The completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the late 1880s did a great deal to help the development of western settlement. The tremendous growth that took place in what are now the Prairie Provinces came between 1885 and 1911. A major part of this western development came when 140 000 people of German origin moved into that area during this period. Although the vast majority came from Eastern Canada and the United States, about one-third of those who came were born in Europe.

Conditions in Germany

Before 1870 Germany consisted of a large number of fairly small separate states. It was only after 1870 that Germany was united as a nation. German society was semi-feudalistic well into the 1800s. Moreover, the change was not always welcomed. In 1829, the German poet, Goethe, reflected that the Industrial Revolution put great stress upon many people.

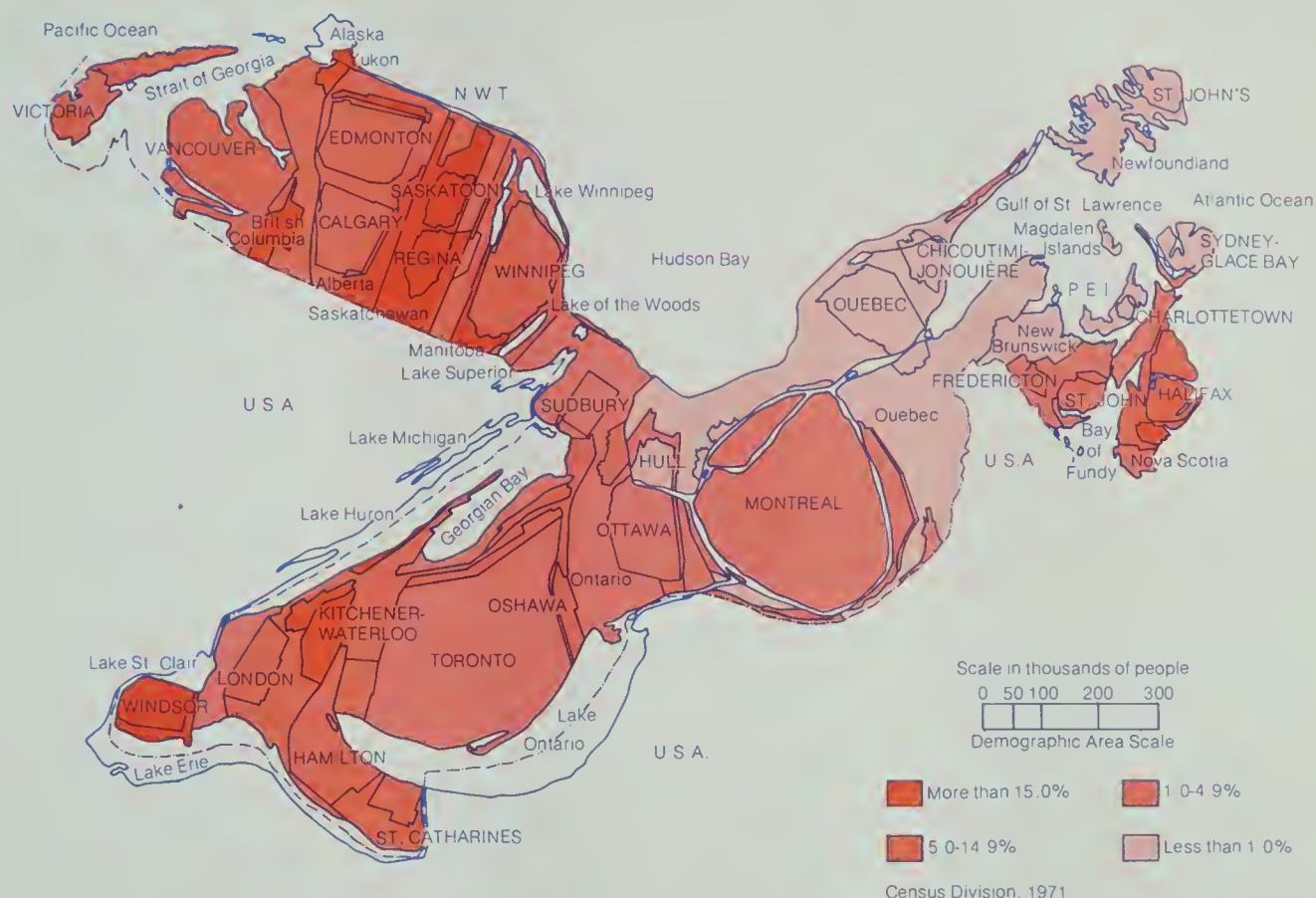
The stifling of steam engines is as impossible from a practical as from a moral point of view. [But] an active trade, the rustle of paper money, the mounting debts to pay more debts; these are all enormous factors with which the young man of today is faced. Happy is he if he is endowed by nature with a sober and quiet mind to prevent his making unreasonable demands on the world and allowing his destiny to be dictated by it.

Industrialism brought great material progress to Germany but it did so at considerable human cost. As one German author, writing in 1836, said,

We are of course living in a transitional period. This word has become banal, and all schoolboys bandy it about. It is not so easy to appreciate its full import, to take really to heart how many men are sacrificed to it. . . . What was really horrifying was the sickly pallor of the workers' faces. [They] could be picked out from those who had remained true to the soil by the fact that [they] had, whether near the furnace, in the midst of the iron ore or at the weaving-loom, not only implanted the germ of death in themselves, but had done the same for their children also; the latter, pale and bloated, crept around in the highways and by-ways. [One] often saw in boldest relief the effect of the two occupations, the one natural, the other artificial, on people. Behind the plows were faces which brimmed over with good health. At the machines were others with sunken cheeks and hollow eyes.

Not only were the conditions of workers as bad as anywhere else in the industrial world, but the people of Germany were also tightly controlled by the remnants of the feudal system. Until 1850, for example, there were regions in which miners under a certain age could marry only with the permission of their employers. It is not surprising that a considerable number of German-speaking people wanted to immigrate to a land providing new economic opportunities.

German Population by Census Division, 1971



Source: Statistics Canada, *Perspective Canada* (Ottawa: 1974), p.266.

Settlement after World War I

With the close of World I came a new wave of German-speaking immigrants to Canada. Between 1919 and 1935 approximately 91 000 arrived from Czechoslovakia, Poland, Austria and Germany. The majority of these people settled near established German settlements on the Prairies. However, a small group of tradesmen and small businessmen found their way to the urban centres in southern Ontario and Montreal.

In 1918 a group of Hutterites, a German-speaking religious sect, came to Canada. This group initially settled in Manitoba and later moved to Saskatchewan and Alberta. Al-

though this group was German-speaking, their religious beliefs set them apart from the rest of the German-speaking communities in Canada.

Although there was little immigration to Canada during the depression of the 1930s, several thousand German-speaking people did come to Canada during this period, most were political refugees fleeing from persecution during the Hitler regime.

Immigration after World War II

In the years immediately after World War II over 10 000 German-speaking refugees came to Canada from Eastern Europe. These included Danube-

Swabians and Sudeten-Germans who were leaving their homelands for political reasons. However, by far the majority of German immigrants who arrived after 1950 did not come so much for political as for economic reasons. They left West Germany in search of a better economic future for themselves and their children, as well as to escape from the problems of overpopulation in Europe.

Most of these people had had urban occupations and brought their skill in trades, business skills and professional competence to Canada. Their contributions to urban life in many of Canada's larger cities has been very great.

Population by City of People of German Origin

Calgary	50 830
Edmonton	62 445
Halifax	11 015
Hamilton	27 090
Kingston	2 880
London	16 415
Montreal	38 440
Ottawa-Hull	19 145
Peterborough	1 190
Regina	30 620
Saint John	1 575
Sarnia	3 440
Saskatoon	21 980
St. John's	710
Sudbury	5 005
Sault Ste. Marie	3 060
Thunder Bay	4 440
Toronto	116 640
Vancouver	89 675
Victoria	9 320
Windsor	13 395
Winnipeg	62 000

Source: 1971 Census

Historical Contributions of German Canadians

A number of German Canadians have contributed to Canadian society in a wide variety of fields. Some have been public figures, artists, musicians, businessmen and clergymen and some have been just ordinary people. In this section you will get a brief glimpse of the depth of this heritage.

David Zeisberger — The Apostle of the Indians (1721-1808)

The French Jesuits were not the only people to carry the message of the Gospel to the Indian tribes of North America. The same kind of dedication and conviction as the Jesuits had can be seen in the work of the Moravian missionaries, particularly David Zeisberger.



Zeisberger was a German minister of the Moravian Church in America who established Christian mission-stations among the Indians and founded villages and towns in Ohio and Ontario. He compiled the first English-German-Iroquois-Algonquin dictionary, translated sermons, hymn books and liturgies into the Delaware language, and produced the first Delaware-English "Spelling Book" for use in his mission schools.

David Zeisberger was born in the small village of Zauchtenthal in Moravia on April 11, 1721. When he was five, his parents fled to Herrnhut, emigrating in 1736 to General Oglethorpe's colony in Georgia. In 1744, David began to study Indian languages and in 1745, he set out for the Mohawk Valley in order to perfect himself in the various dialects and to serve as an assistant to Christian Frederick Post. Both Post and Zeisberger were imprisoned and later expelled from New York on suspicion of being French spies. After his release by the English colonial government, Zeisberger began to explore the Susquehanna River in

the service of his church, after which he worked for Jan de Watteville as an interpreter in the Lehigh Valley. He was ordained a minister by de Watteville in February 1749. His first assignments took him to the Iroquois, the Onondaga and the Seneca nations. In 1750, the Moravian Church commissioned his visit to Europe. He sailed in September, reaching England after an exceptionally stormy seventy-eight day crossing. In Germany, he spent six months working with Count Zinzendorf at Herrnhut, leaving for America in June 1751. In September, he landed in New York again.

Zeisberger immediately resumed his missionary duties with the Onondaga Indians, this time being adopted into their tribe. In 1755, mission-stations among the Iroquois had to be abandoned, owing to the hostilities between the British and the French. In November 1755, Zeisberger almost lost his life in one of the numerous massacres of this conflict. So great was the unrest caused by this war that no attempt was made by the Moravians for the next six years to preach the gospels to the Western Indians. After the raids of the so-called "Pontiac War" in the sixties, there came the campaigns of the American Revolution. This time, the missionaries were summoned to Detroit in order to stand trial as American spies. Because their mission-stations were located between the frontier settlements of the Americans and the western outposts of the British, Zeisberger's Christian Indians remained the object of suspicion to both sides. While the Moravians had been in the habit of warning white settlers and converted Indians of impending raids by heathen Indians, they observed a strict neutrality in

The size and emptiness of the land are two facts that are ever present in Canadian minds. Men are few and the solitudes are vast.

George Woodcock

all other border conflicts and, being devout pacifists, wanted no part of the political problems of the American War of Independence.

The Moravians had founded numerous towns and villages of which the most important was Bethlehem, Pa., where the permanent headquarters of their church were located. Zeisberger went on to found Friedenstadt and, in the Tuscarawas Valley of Ohio, Schoenbrunn and Gnadenhuetten (1772), Lichtenau (1776), New Schoenbrunn (1779) and Salem (1780). In 1781, he married Susan Lecron, a woman twenty-five years younger than himself. Together they moved to a new settlement which they named "Pilgerruh," meaning "Pilgrim's Rest." It was situated near the present site of Cleveland. Peace eluded them here, too, and they decided to move once more in their search for peace to a new location. This time, they selected the Black River Valley in Erie County, where they called their new town "New Salem." New Salem had become a flourishing community of over two hundred souls, when in March 1791, war broke out again, forcing the Moravians to relocate in the Detroit area. On the stormy night of April 15, 1791, they crossed Lake St. Clair and managed to reach Canadian soil with one hundred and fifty souls, of a congregation which had once numbered well over four hundred. On the Thames River, they now founded Schoenefeld or "Fairfield." Here, they were visited by Governor John Graves Simcoe himself in February 1793. On his instructions to lay out an entire township, over forty houses were built forming one street which began at the road to Detroit. Fairfield prospered.

In 1798, after the American Con-

gress had offered them 4000 ha of land in the Tuscarawas River Valley as compensation for damages suffered, the Moravians began to prepare their return to Ohio. Zeisberger, who had spent about seven peaceful years on Canadian soil building Fairfield, was setting out to build his last town which he called "Goshen." Here, he died on November 17, 1808, after having served his Christian Indians as missionary-teacher, as an "apostle" for over sixty years.

(Reprinted by permission of the Historical Society of Mecklenburg, Upper Canada, March 1974.)

Johann Samuel Schwerdtfeger — The Saint of the St. Lawrence (1734-1803)

There were a number of German-speaking people among the Loyalists who fled persecution during the American Revolution. One such person was Johann Samuel Schwerdtfeger.

"The first Lutheran minister to settle in this province, Schwerdtfeger was born in Burgbernheim, Bavaria, and studied theology at the University of Erlangen. Emigrating to America in 1753, he served as pastor of congregations in Pennsylvania, Maryland and New York. Much persecuted for his allegiance to the Crown during the American Revolution, Schwerdtfeger moved to Canada in 1791. He settled here in Williamsburg Township and became pastor of a congregation of German Loyalists, which had been established in 1784, and by 1790 had constructed the first Lutheran church in what is now Ontario. Its site now lies beneath Lake St. Lawrence. Within a few years he had organized Lutheran congregations in



neighbouring townships. He died in 1803 and was buried in the old church cemetery."

Behind this tersely worded text of the memorial plaque, recently unveiled by the Ontario Archeological and Historic Sites Board, stands the story of a man so dedicated to his faith that he would not have hesitated to suffer martyrdom for it, a man so dedicated to his ideals that he gave up two countries for the privilege of devoting his life to them in Canada.

Schwerdtfeger was much more than a churchman. He was a brilliant educator with a command of five languages, one of the first to use the reward system in educating children. With his pharmaceutical training, he possessed considerable knowledge of plants and herbs, even drugs, to assist his parishioners as a physician. Only in the ensuing political power struggle was this man of peace, who had boldly faced Indian attacks on the frontier, helpless to save himself other than by flight. This man, who firmly believed that religious faith could provide a solution to the problem of revolution-

ary dissention, was forced to make the supreme sacrifice to loyalty. He lost not only his friends and property but also his place in history as one of the Lutheran patriarchs of America, when he decided to remain loyal to his convictions and remove himself and his family to Canada.

(Reprinted by permission of the Historical Society of Mecklenburg, Upper Canada, March 1974.)

Albrecht Ulrich Moll (William Berczy) (1744-1813)

One of the most important historical public figures is the colourful William Berczy. The following brief account gives some indication of the contribution he and his family made. Many people consider him to be the co-founder of Toronto.

Born in the ancient town of Wallerstein near Nördlingen on the Romantic Way in Swabia, Germany, William Moll Berczy was baptized "Johann Albrecht Ulrich Moll" on December 10, 1744.

According to one report, he was sent to Poland at the age of eighteen to assist during diplomatic negotiations. The Russian invasion of 1764 caused him to escape into Turkish-held territory where he eluded his pursuers in the disguise of a lady of the harem. When he attempted to reach his home in Vienna by crossing the eastern range of the Alps, he was captured by a band of brigands and held for ransom. He is said to have struck up a friendship with the captain of the bandits; at parting the two men exchanged weapons as a token of mutual respect. It was probably this brigand chief who, being of Hungarian extraction, gave to Johann Albrecht Ulrich Moll the endearing



nickname of "Berczy," which means "Little Albert" or "Little Albrecht," a name he was later to adopt as his new family name in America.

William Moll Berczy was educated in Vienna, where he studied at the Academy of the Arts, and later at the University of Jena. His correspondence and his later narratives reveal that he spent the years between 1771 and 1780 travelling in Eastern Europe and the Balkan countries for reasons of study, romance and — possibly — diplomatic intrigue. William Moll Berczy was a talented linguist. In 1785 he married Jeanne-Charlotte Allamand of Lausanne, Switzerland, and spent the following five years perfecting his skills as a painter in Italy.

In 1790, the Moll Berczys went to London where he is said to have become drawing master to the daughters of Sir William Pulteney, later the Marquis of Bath. Always ready for new adventures, Moll Berczy sailed for America bringing with him a group of German immigrants. Acting as land agent on behalf of the "Genesee Associa-

tion" which had been formed by Sir William Pulteney and his associates, Moll Berczy after some misunderstandings with the New York State authorities brought his entire group of farmers and craftsmen to Upper Canada in 1794. Here they were to receive land grants in excess of 25 900 ha just outside the newly formed city of York, in what later became known as Markham Township. Controversy again arose over his land titles, and in 1799 William Moll Berczy returned to England to plead his case before the King, in an attempt to settle his dispute with Governor Simcoe and the Executive Council of Upper Canada. But he was not destined to be a successful businessman, and upon his return to Canada in 1801 he settled in Montreal to support his family as a painter.

Not only was William Moll Berczy one of the earliest professional painters to come to Canada, he was also the first to build a bridge across the Don River and the first to build a saw mill and a grist mill for the young city of York which he helped to found. William Moll Berczy and his German pioneers were commissioned to hew Yonge Street out of the wilderness and to make Rouge River a navigable waterway. This gifted man was also the architect who designed most of Toronto's first public buildings and Montreal's first Christ Church Cathedral, reported to have been the pride of the city in its day. Berczy's paintings hang in the gallery of the British Museum in London and in the National Gallery in Ottawa. William Moll Berczy emerges as one of the principal founders of the great city of Toronto. His son William Berczy jun., became a member of the Upper Canada Assembly and a Colonel of

the Militia. His other son, Charles, served as Toronto's first postmaster. According to an article in "The Patriot" of March 7, 1834, the leading voice in changing the name of this city from York to Toronto was cast by a Berczy, William jun.

William Moll Berczy died a broken man in New York in 1813.

(Reprinted by permission of the Historical Society of Mecklenburg, Upper Canada, March 1974.)

**City of Toronto — Public Notice
"Berczy Day"**

Tuesday, December 10th, 1974

On December 10th, those of German ancestry will celebrate "Berczy Day" in the City of Toronto.

Many contributions were made to Toronto by the Berczy family, including the building of a saw mill and grist mill. The first bridge across the Don River was built by a Berczy and these pioneers also were commissioned to hew Yonge Street and to make the Rouge River navigable.

In recognition of the many contributions this family has made to our area, it is my pleasure to proclaim Tuesday, December 10th, 1974, "Berczy Day" in the City of Toronto.

Mayor's Office,
City Hall, Toronto,
December 5, 1974.

David Crombie
Mayor



**PROCLAMATION
TOWN OF MARKHAM**

WHEREAS the Town of Markham wishes to pay tribute to William Moll Berczy, a founding pioneer of the Town of Markham;

AND WHEREAS on December 10th, 1975, Mark 11 Senior Public School is to be renamed in his honour William Berczy Public School;

**THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT
December 10th, 1975, be proclaimed
"Berczy Day" in the Town of
Markham.**

Anthony Roman,
Mayor

**The First German Printer in
Canada**

This excerpt from an article by Siegfried Taubert shows how another early German settler contributed to pioneer life in Canada.

Bartholomew Green and John Bushell, both of whom originated from New England, were the first ones who ran printing shops in what is known today as Canada. Green announced the publication of his first newspaper in what was most likely 1751. But unfortunately, the master died in the same year, and John Bushell, with whom he had worked in Boston, took over his shop in Halifax. Accordingly, it is to John Bushell that the credit must go for having made printing indigenous to the Nova Scotia area, and in so doing, to the vast territories north of the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River.

Bushell himself died in early 1761; however, several months before his demise, he took on a partner in his business, who eventually took it over. His name was Anthony Henry (Anthon Henrich) — the first German printer in Canada.

Anthon Henrich was born of German parents in Alsace in 1734. It is not known when and how he came to the New World. Presumably, he had had the opportunity to learn the fundamentals of printing before he began his great voyage. Anyway, in 1758 he emerged in Halifax as a musician in a military band. The political and military developments after the fall of Louisbourg brought about the necessity to find employment for the military regiment in Halifax. Due to good connections, Henrich succeeded in getting into Bushell's printing shop. As a matter of fact, he stood the test so well that he eventually became a full partner in the business.

This young printer — at the death of his predecessor he was barely twenty-seven years old — began by continuing the usual work of the printing shop.

Nevertheless, it is quite conceivable that Henrich spent more of his time on the editing and printing of *The Halifax Gazette*, Canada's first periodical (from 1752 on), which had also been taken over by Bushell. It is clearly evident from Henrich's success that this dual function suited him well. But since he advocated specific personal opinions on certain issues, the government retracted its commissions in 1766 and bestowed them onto one of his competitors. Consequently, Henrich was forced to discontinue the work on his newspaper; but only a few years later he had the satisfaction of once more enjoy-

ing the government's favour. Accordingly, he published the *Nova-Scotia Chronicle and Weekly Advertiser* in 1769-70 and, in 1770, the *Nova-Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle*, a newspaper which, judged on the basis of layout and content, belongs to the finest achievements of the times.

An advertisement in the January 3, 1769 issue of the *Nova-Scotia Chronicle* reveals that Henrich also devoted his attention to the lucrative business of publishing almanacs. These almanacs, characteristic in publication- and type-style of the North American Colonial Era and revolutionary period, served the same function as the many popular calendars of the Old World. There was hardly one family that did not regularly obtain such a calendar and extract from it certain words of wisdom which, although often ridiculed, influenced and guided their lives more deeply than they were willing to admit.

The year 1750 marked the arrival of the first pioneer families to Nova Scotia, where they founded Lunenburg two years later. Three decades later, the number of German-speaking persons on this peninsula had reached 2000 to 3000. This fact encouraged Anthon Henrich to publish a calendar in German. In 1787, when the first such calendar appeared for the ensuing year, this was Canada's first printed matter in the German language.

Henrich's ambitions and dreams concerning German journalism were not yet fulfilled, though. On page two of his almanac one comes across the following paragraph:

... And so, it is through this printing shop that I want to expend my utmost effort to keep our native language in a

current usage of which no old, upright German will be ashamed, not only in this land, but also in the United States of America — although many of our youths in their presumption manifest an aversion to that. For this purpose, I want to publish — Fridays — a weekly German newspaper with the title: *Die Welt, und die Neuschottlaendische Correspondenz* (*The World, and Nova-Scotian Correspondence*)...

Even though no sample of *Die Welt* has been discovered to date, it can certainly be assumed — according to the opinions of Canadian experts and other currently available sources — that the newspaper did indeed appear, even though it may well have been short-lived. It lacked the necessary minimum number of consumers; most probably, the competition of German dailies and weeklies from Pennsylvania was also to the detriment of Henrich's plans.

Anthon Henrich died in December of 1800 as the "King's Printer," (which he had become in 1788), as a successful typographer, and an esteemed editor...

(Reprinted by permission of the Historical Society of Mecklenburg, Upper Canada. Translated from the original German by Daniel A. Rinck, Toronto.)

Francis “Frank” William Laumeister

One of the most interesting and even exciting figures discussed in Bruce Ramsey’s *A History of the German-Speaking People in British Columbia* is Frank Laumeister, originally from Nenslin, Bavaria. Ramsey, in this brief but humorous account, gives a lighter glimpse at German-speaking citizens’ contributions.

One of the first “public works” programs on the mainland was the construction of a trail from Port Douglas, at the head of Harrison Lake to Lillooet, using a chain of lakes as stepping stones. This route, which was completed by September, 1858, avoided the perilous walls of the Fraser Canyon, and until the building of the canyon road by the Royal Engineers and private contractors in 1863, this was the only way to the gold fields of the upper river. But freight costs were high, as well as operational expenses for the expressmen, and Laumeister the brewer, who knew that it took men of vision to get ahead, figured he was as smart as any expressman on the mainland.

With Georg Stultz, Gustav Hoffmeister, “old man Neufelden” and others, he formed a syndicate to bring camels up from California to work on the Douglas-Lillooet trail. Early in the year the shipment consisting of 22 “bacterian” or two-humped camels arrived from California. Never had Victoria seen such a weird cargo unload from a ship, although many strange things had happened in Victoria over the last few years. One of the camels, it is said, broke away and ran for the bush, but soon got a little lonely and

Some Famous German Canadians in the Past
Science

Abraham Gesner (1797-1864)	Discovered process of distilling kerosene
Anthony von Iffland (1799-1876)	Founder of first school of anatomy in Canada

Art

Otto Reinhold Jacobi (1812-1901)	Art teacher and painter
William Raphael (1833-1914)	Art teacher and painter
James Hoch (1827-1878)	Art teacher and painter

Music

Frederic Henri Glackemeyer (1751-1836)	Founder of the Quebec Harmonic Society
Joseph Hecker	Founder of Winnipeg Philharmonic Society (1880)
Dr. Augustus Vogt	Founder of Mendelssohn Choir in Toronto; Principal of Toronto Conservatory of Music (1913-1926); Dean of Faculty of Music, University of Toronto (1919-1926)

Public Life

Michael Grass	One of the founders of Kingston, Ontario
Charles Fisher	Father of Confederation
William Henry Steeves	Father of Confederation
Charles Tupper	Father of Confederation
John Sebastian Helmcken	Member of first Legislative Assembly of Vancouver Island
Jonathan S.C. Wuertele	Speaker, Quebec Legislative Assembly;
Christian Henry Pozer	Judge of the Court of Queen’s Bench MP and later Senator

hungry. The frightened animal spotted an Indian coming along a trail and proceeded to trot up to him, friendly like, but the brave took one look at him and thought the devil himself was after him. He ran for home, and the faster he ran, the faster the camel ran. Finally, after what must have seemed an eternity, the Indian reached home, but found he couldn’t get in the door, and there was that infernal camel right behind him. It was too much, and the Indian collapsed and died of fright on his doorstep. The story may account for the fact that only 21 camels were sent to the main-

land, where for about a year they could be seen hauling freight and supplies over the old trail. In theory, the scheme probably worked, but in practice, it was a different matter. First of all, the rocks on the road were too hard for camel feet, but of equal importance was the fact that camels have a very bad case of what the commercials now call “B.O.” When the camels met up with the more orthodox pack trains, general panic broke loose as the other animals bolted, often damaging their burdens, rather than pass the strange “ships of the desert.” There

was one particularly nasty bit of road around a cliff, called the Rock of Gibraltar, and here, the other animals would rather leap over the sides to their deaths than pass the odious animals. As a result of these incidents, plus the mental anxiety caused to the other freight men, Laumeister landed in court with a long list of suits against him. Without too much reluctance Laumeister gave up the experiment and brought the animals down to the coast where they were put on the block and sold to the highest bidder. Some were returned to California, while others were used on the Hope trail. The last died at Grand Prairie, now Westwold, south of Kamloops about 1905

Other more serious accounts of the German-speaking people in British Columbia can be found among Ramsay's very interesting accounts.

Twentieth-Century Contributions

Sir Adam Beck (1857-1925)

One of the most dynamic figures of German origin who contributed to Canadian society was Adam Beck.

For 25 years he was one of the most outstanding figures in Ontario's history. He was born in 1857 in Baden, Ontario, the son of German immigrants who had established a prosperous foundry. When the business went bankrupt during the depression of the 1870s the family was left virtually penniless.

At that point, the younger Beck started a company of his own making wooden boxes for cigar manufacturers. He later moved to London, Ontario where he became a very influential businessman. After



being appointed to the Hospital Trust, Beck became involved in the first of many public controversies. He argued very strongly that the poor in the community should not be subject to the indignity of medical examinations in front of medical students. To get more influence, he ran for the office of mayor of London and was elected.

It was as mayor of London that he first became involved in the efforts of the "cheap power" movement. This was a group of people interested in seeing Ontario use the "white power" of Niagara Falls to generate electricity.

Until the end of the nineteenth century, water power could only be used locally and electrical power was virtually out of the question. But this all changed with the discovery that electricity could be transported over long distances using high voltage lines.

With these developments Beck became an active supporter of the "cheap power" movement. He was elected to the Ontario legislature where he carried on his fight. He demanded that the province under-

take the development of hydro-electricity in the province. Because he strongly opposed the idea of private enterprise controlling such a utility, he was branded a socialist — a very unpopular label in those times.

Although he never had the official public title, he was often referred to as the Minister of Power. In 1906 he was appointed Chairman of the Hydro Electric Commission of Ontario and remained its president and guiding light until his death.

On May 2, 1911 electric power reached Toronto from Niagara Falls. This was the beginning of the many major steps that would help develop the industrial capacity of the province. Many people had the dream that some day hydroelectric power would be available throughout the province. It was Beck who helped make this dream a reality.

For his accomplishments Beck was knighted by George V in 1914. It was a title that Sir Adam clearly deserved.

At Beck's funeral thousands of people lined the railway tracks and stations as a special train carried his body from London to Hamilton. As his body was lowered to the grave, electric power throughout the province was stopped. The momentary lack of power reminded people of the contribution this man had made to the province.

They criticized me sometimes for being too much concerned with the average Canadian. I can't help that. I'm just one of them.

John George Diefenbaker

Occupational Groups, 1971

	German (percentage)
Managerial, administrative and related	3.6
Natural sciences, engineering and mathematics	2.7
Social sciences and related	0.6
Religion	0.3
Teaching and related	3.6
Medicine and related	3.5
Art, literature, performing arts and related	0.7
Clerical and related	13.4
Sales	8.7
Service	10.6
Farming, horticulture and animal husbandry	12.5
Fishing, hunting, trapping and related	0.1
Forestry and logging	0.5
Mining, quarrying, including oil and gas field	0.7
Processing	3.7
Machining	3.4
Production, fabrication, assembly and repair	7.6
Construction trades	7.9
Transport-equipment operation	3.5
Material handling and related	2.3
Other crafts and equipment operation	1.1
Not stated and not elsewhere classified	9.0
Total	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, *Perspective Canada: A Compendium of Social Statistics* (Ottawa: 1974), p. 275.

politics, Mr. Diefenbaker was finally elected to the House of Commons in 1940. There he began a distinguished parliamentary career that was to reach its height in 1957 when the Conservatives won the largest majority in Canadian history and John Diefenbaker led his party from a minority government to the undisputed leadership of the nation.

Prime Minister Diefenbaker's period in office (1957-1963) was far from calm. He was and has remained among the most controversial of all Canadian politicians. Whether history treats him harshly or generously, he has made a mark on Canada that will be recognized for decades to come. His personal sense of mission is undeniable. As he related in his autobiography: "I was eight or ten years old when I said to my mother, 'Some day I'm going to be Prime Minister.' She did not laugh."

John George Diefenbaker

John Diefenbaker was born in Grey County, Ontario on September 18, 1895. His ancestors had come to Canada many years before. On his father's side, he traced his heritage back to Baden in southern Germany. His mother's people were Scots Highlanders who had come to Canada with Lord Selkirk in 1816.

His father's family were Loyalists who had come to Upper Canada in 1812. Diefenbaker recalls with some relish that his mother's grandfather

had been among the men who had driven William Lyon Mackenzie from Canada although he had been "no lover of the Family Compact" and supported reforms.

Diefenbaker gained a great reputation as a courtroom lawyer. As a defense counsel in many criminal cases he consistently took the side of ordinary men and women and gained the respect of all, whether they opposed him or not. After many unsuccessful attempts at



The Honourable Horst A. Schmid

As Minister of Government Services Responsible for Culture in the Alberta Legislative Assembly, the Hon. Horst Schmid is an example of a German Canadian making a significant contribution to contemporary Canadian society. Upon arriving in Canada, he studied Canadian grade 12 subjects, took accounting training and later two years of correspondence courses from the University of Toronto in business psychology, business finance and business administration. In addition to becoming a partner in an export firm, he has been deeply involved in a number of community activities in the Edmonton area.

He was first elected to the Alberta Legislative Assembly in August, 1971. He was the first post-war immigrant to be elected to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta, as well as the first post-war immigrant to be appointed to a cabinet in Canada.

Some Famous German Canadians in the Twentieth Century

Public Life

Hon. Robert Winter Breithaupt

Former Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario and former cabinet minister of Lester B. Pearson. He ran for the Liberal leadership and almost became prime minister.

Hon. Otto Lang

Minister of Transport and Chairman of the Wheat Board

Hon. Ed Schreyer

Premier of Manitoba

Hon. Eric A. Winkler

Former Chairman of the Management Board of the Ontario cabinet

James R. Breithaupt

MPP in the Ontario legislature

Science

Dr. Gerhard Herzberg

1971 Nobel Prize winner for chemistry
Director of Research Institute for Stress in Montreal and world-famous

Dr. Hans Selye

psychologist and researcher

Dr. Guenther Voss

Internationally renowned zoologist

Art

Eberhard H. Zeidler

Architect of Ontario Place and the world-famous McMaster Medical Centre in Hamilton

Emanuel Hahn

Sculptor and founder of the Sculptors' Society of Canada

William Falkenberg

Sculptor

Leonard Oesterle

Sculptor and teacher at the Ontario College of Art

Lutz Dille

Photographer

Professor Karl May

Painter whose works are hanging in the National Gallery in Ottawa and in Washington, DC

Guttorn Otto

Painter

Music

Til Thiele

Internationally renowned teacher of interpretive dance. She settled in Toronto in 1973

Dr. Herman Geiger-Torel

General Director of the Canadian Opera Company

Luigi Maria von Kunitz

Founder of the Toronto Symphony

Dr. Arnold Walter

Founder of the International Society for Music Education, President of Inter-American Music Council and Director of the Faculty of Music at the University of Toronto for 16 years

Heinz Unger

Former conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. He settled in Toronto in 1948 and conducted the CBC and York Philharmonic Orchestras

Elmer Iseler

Internationally renowned conductor of the Mendelssohn Choir



Design and Architecture

One of the greatest impacts German-Canadian people have made has been in the area of design and architecture. Many of our major expressways, such as the Mac-Donald-Cartier Freeway, the Queen Elizabeth Way and the series of 400 highways in Metropolitan Toronto, have to a large extent been designed by people who have recently emigrated from Germany or who are of German-Canadian origin.

When you look at the skyline of our major urban centres like Montreal, Vancouver and Toronto you will see many examples of the German school of architecture known as "the Bauhaus." The Bauhaus School of Architecture was founded in 1919 by Walter Gropius. His idea was to design modern buildings suitable for the new technological age. The Bauhaus style of architecture was imported to North America in the mid-1930s and was based mainly in Chicago. Its influence

spread and today any large North American city will have many examples of Bauhaus-style architecture.

One example of the type of architecture that developed out of the Bauhaus tradition is the Toronto Dominion Centre, which was designed by Mies van der Rohe. The number of buildings of similar design and construction seem to be multiplying in all North American cities today. On the death of Mies van der Rohe in 1969 the *New York Times* wrote,

The glassy skyscrapers and sleek-walled buildings that are the pride of modern cities and the symbol of modern life owe more to Ludwig Mies van der Rohe than to any other architect of our time.

As you can see from this comment and from the skylines of our urban centres, the Bauhaus School of Architecture has had a tremendous impact on the Canadian scene.

Other Contributions

From the chart on the accompanying page, you can see that German Canadians have had a tremendous influence in many areas of Canadian society. There are many accomplishments that they should justifiably be proud of.

Evidence of German Culture in Canada

Choirs

Singing in choirs is a German tradition that dates back for generations and spans many centuries. It was therefore quite natural for German immigrants to Canada to establish choirs in their new homeland. One such choir was the world-famous Mendelssohn Choir, established in 1894 by the Swiss-German Augusta Vogt.

Many of the German clubs in Canada also have their own choirs. They have done much to foster group singing in Canada. Choir singing was also encouraged by church groups and by independent choir groups. There is some evidence to indicate that German choirs were formed as early as 1869. German Canadian's interest in choir singing reached a high point in May, 1958 when the German-Canadian Choir Association was formed.

German-Canadian Clubs

In nearly every urban centre across Canada there is at least one German-Canadian Club. The purpose of these clubs is to help maintain a certain level of German cultural identity while at the same time providing a social centre for its members. Besides this, most of the clubs sponsor choirs, bands, athletic programs and some even have schools that teach the German language.



GERMAN-CANADIAN
COUNCIL FOR THE ARTS

German-Canadian Newspapers

There are a number of German-Canadian newspapers published throughout the country, particularly in major cities such as Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver. The earliest German newspaper was published in Halifax in 1787. It was known as *Die Welt, and die Neuschottlaendische Correspondenz* (*The World, and the Nova-Scotian Correspondence*). The second publication to appear was in 1822, known as *Canada Museum*, a weekly paper founded by Benjamin Ebbie, a Mennonite from Kitchener.

Since that time a number of weekly and monthly publications in the German language have begun to appear. Although a number of publications have ceased to function, there are still a great many. It would be a useful exercise to find out what German publications there are in your community and how important they are to the German community.

Festivals

As we noted earlier, singing has long been a part of German tradition. This is shown in the summer festivals, folk festivals, song festivals and October festivals that are so popular in the German community. The most famous traditional German festival is, of course, the Oktoberfest. It is a celebration

held annually in honour of the first wine or beer of the season. In Europe it is celebrated mainly in south Germany and the Rhineland. However, in Canada, most German clubs and communities have established their own Oktoberfest. The club hall is decorated in the traditional manner and there is lively entertainment, dancing to German bands and traditional German food, such as sauerkraut, sausages, potato salads and, of course, beer. Many English Canadians now enjoy joining in this German festival.

There are, of course, other festivals held throughout the year, but the Oktoberfest remains the highlight for most German-Canadian clubs. In the following article we can see some of the zest and high spirits that is usually associated with this festival.

Oktoberfest

Nearly all aspects of German cultural life seem to come together in the festival known as Oktoberfest. It all began in Munich in 1810 in a celebration in honour of Prince Ludwig's wedding. It initially involved horse races, with stables from all over Bavaria entering horses in the competition. At the conclusion of the races people gathered to feast and drink toasts to the prince and his bride. As it was such a tremendous success, it was suggested that the event become an annual affair. The following year it was expanded to include agricultural exhibits as well. It was basically from this celebration that the Bavarian national holiday was born.

Various communities in Canada at different times have celebrated Oktoberfest. Some of these festivals involve a whole community but others are celebrated by a family or

The Germans in Canada: A Historical Timetable

1617

Among the first settlers in French Canada were a few Germans, mainly from the principalities along the river Rhine.

1664

First mention of Germans in official documents of Quebec.

1750

The good ship *Anne* docked at Halifax, NS on September 13, with 322 German settlers from Hanover, Brunswick, Palatinate and the Upper Rhine marking the beginning of German mass immigration to Canada.

1753

German colonists founded Lunenburg in Nova Scotia.

1769

600 Germans settled in Annapolis Valley.

1776-83

12 663 German soldiers under General Friedrich Adolphus von Riedesel fought on the side of the British Army in the War of Independence. Their presence discouraged American troops from invading Canada after the American Senate had declared Canada the 14th State of the Union.

1781

In the Governor's residence in Sorel, Quebec, Baroness von Riedesel introduced the illuminated German Christmas tree to Canada.

1782

The German troops of General von Riedesel built fort Lennox, Quebec.

1783

Several thousand Germans, discharged soldiers and United Empire Loyalists of German origin, settled in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, along the St. Lawrence River and the Niagara peninsula.

1786

The first German Mennonites arrived and settled in Upper Canada.

I'm very happy to be able to say that in the House of Commons today in my party we have members of Italian, Dutch, German, Scandinavian, Chinese and Ukrainian origin — and they are all Canadians.

John G. Diefenbaker

1788

The "Hochdeutsche Neu-Schottlandische Calender," produced by the printing and publishing company of Anton Henrich, was the first German publication in Canada.

1789

Germans, former Loyalists, built the first Lutheran Church in the town of Williamsburg, County of Dundas. Rev. Johann Samuel Schwerdtfeger, "The Saint of the St. Lawrence River," arrived two years later as the first Lutheran minister of Ontario.

1788

Lord Dorchester, the British Governor, proclaimed the names of the four districts of the newly founded province of Upper Canada. They had German names like Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Nassau and Hessen.

1794

William Moll-Berczy arrived with 64 German families (200 people) in Simcoe's York. He helped build Yonge Street and became the co-founder of Toronto and founder of Markham.

1799-1820

Large German immigration, mostly from Pennsylvania, settled mainly in the County of Waterloo.

1821

German-speaking colonists took part in Lord Selkirk's Red River Settlement in the Canadian West.

1826

Founding of the town of Berlin (since 1916 Kitchener) by Germans.

1835

Founding of the Deutsche Gesellschaft (German Association) which is still active in Montreal.

1864-67

Conferences of Canadian Confederation. Three of the Fathers of Confederation — Sir Charles Tupper, Charles Fisher and William Henry Steeves — were of German origin.

1867

At the time of Confederation about 10 percent of the population was of German ancestry.

1871

British Columbia entered Confederation. One of the more prominent members of the BC delegation was a German by the name of Dr. Sebastian Helmcken, Member of Provincial Parliament of BC.

1874

7000 Mennonites, mainly from Russia, immigrated to Manitoba and began the colonization of the Canadian West, thanks to the efforts of William Hespeler, then federal Commissioner of Immigration and Agriculture, who was a German by birth.

1889

The first German Hutterites left the USA and settled in Alberta.

1894

Augustus Stephen Vogt founded the famous Mendelssohn Choir of Toronto.

1896

Sir Charles Tupper became the first Prime Minister of Canada of German ancestry.

1903

Adam Beck established the Hydro-Electric Power Commission and ensured that the ever-expanding industry of Ontario would have an adequate supply of low-cost electric energy.

1912

The Toronto Symphony Orchestra was founded by Luigi Paul Maria von Kunits.

1914

Adam Beck was knighted by King George V.

1923-30

Moderate immigration of Germans to Canada.

1939

About 1000 Germans from the Sudetenland emigrated to Canada and settled in British Columbia.

1949-60

A huge wave of German immigrants entered Canada.

1951

The Trans-Canada Alliance of German Canadians was founded.

1957-63

John G. Diefenbaker was the second Canadian Prime Minister of German ancestry.

1964

300th anniversary of German-speaking community in Quebec.

1971

The census figures showed that close to 1.5 million Canadians were of German origin.

The German-Canadian Council for the Arts was founded in Toronto.

1972

Unveiling of commemorative plaque for William Moll-Berczy in the new City Hall of Toronto to honour the co-founder of Toronto.

1974

Proclamation of Berczy Day in Toronto and naming of Berczy Park in downtown Toronto.

1975

225th anniversary of the German-Canadian community in English-speaking Canada.

Proclamation of Berczy Day in Toronto and Markham, naming of Berczy Creek in Markham and naming of William Berczy Public School in Unionville, Ontario.

1976

200th anniversary of the arrival of General Friedrich Adolphus von Riedesel and his German troops in Quebec City.

Reprinted by courtesy of A. Rinck.

General Friedrich Adolphus von Riedesel's troops arriving to fight for the British in the American War of Independence.

a small group of friends. The one that has attracted not only national but international attention is the Oktoberfest held each year in the community of Kitchener-Waterloo. Before 1969 the festival was celebrated in the community by the various German clubs, but in 1969 it was decided that a community-wide Oktoberfest would be held. From that point on the festival has attracted between 200 000 and 250 000 people each year during the eight-day festival.

From the outset this community festival has tried to capture the spirit and authenticity of the true German Oktoberfest. Oompah bands play and people enjoy traditional sausages, sauerkraut, cabbage rolls and steins of beer. Entertainment includes trap shoots, a dressage competition, eagle shooting competitions for archers and crossbowmen, a huge carnival, evening concerts, beauty contests and evenings of song and dance. All are an integral part of the festival. Oktoberfest is a family affair and there are games, special booths and plays for the children.

One of the highlights of the Oktoberfest has become the parade, which becomes longer and more elaborate every year. Floats representing various German themes and clubs as well as scores of bands and marchers dressed in gay Bavarian costumes contribute to a magnificent display.

Whether you attend the parade, the carnival, the competitions, the concerts and singing and dancing, or just enjoy the food and drink and the atmosphere of the beer halls and the gaily decorated festival hall, you will see that the spirit of the original Oktoberfest in Bavaria pervades this Oktoberfest in Canada.



Conclusion

We hope that you will have seen some of the heritage and contributions of the German-Canadian communities in Canada through these excerpts and descriptions. The fact that, despite the two world wars, German Canadians have and continue to make a contribution to Canadian society is a very positive reflection on our democratic society and way of life. We should not ignore the discrimination that took place during the wars, but it is more important to realize that the memories of past generations can be set aside.

The Ukrainians

The Earliest Immigrants

It is probable that the very first Ukrainian immigrants to Canada were soldiers. A number of Ukrainians were members of the Swiss mercenary regiments that fought on behalf of the British in the War of 1812. Two other soldiers, Andrew Yankovsky and Peter Komdrovsky, were also involved with Lord Selkirk's settlers at Red River in 1817.

There were also a number of Ukrainians among the Mennonites who settled in Manitoba in the 1870s. Some Ukrainians who had initially immigrated to the United States were attracted north by the abundant free land in Manitoba as well. These people, both soldiers and settlers, were scattered throughout Manitoba and did not form any close-knit communities.

The First Wave of Immigrants

The immigration to Canada from the Ukraine in the late 1890s and early twentieth century was largely due to the overpopulation and poor economic prospects of the Ukraine. Life in the Ukraine, on their tiny plots of land, was very difficult and the rewards for hard work were very small. It was these conditions, along with concerns for their children, that encouraged many people to seek a new beginning in Canada.

As is so often the case, the people who initially settled in the new land became the best advertisement for future immigrants. Letters home from the new settlers telling of the economic possibilities in Canada encouraged many Ukrainians to emigrate to Canada before World War I.

One of the reasons that people in the homeland were so receptive to the idea of coming to Canada was the fact that, in many ways, Canada resembled parts of the Ukraine. The hilly and mountainous areas of Western Canada were like some areas in the Ukraine, but many Ukrainians could feel very much at home on the Canadian Prairies because the landscape was so much like the Steppes of the Ukraine.

By far the greatest attraction was the offer of free land. The opportunity of giving up a small plot of land for a large farm in Canada was tremendously appealing. As we have seen in our study of Canada's immigration policies, there was a tremendous effort during this time to attract agricultural workers to the Canadian West. By glancing again at the Canadian policies outlined in Chapter 1, you will see why many Ukrainians found the government offers so attractive.

The First Two Official Immigrants

September 7, 1891 has a special significance for Ukrainians in Canada. It was on this date that the first two officially recorded Ukrainian immigrants, Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylypiw, arrived in Canada. The story of these two men is not only interesting but gives us some insight into the life of the early immigrants. The two had lived in a small village in Galicia in the western Ukraine. When they heard of the opportunities in Canada from Germans in the Ukraine they left their families and headed west across the Atlantic to the New World.

After seeing the prosperous Menonite settlement in Manitoba and the vast empty fertile regions of Alberta, the two found the land they wished to settle. They spent the summer and fall working in Manitoba as farmhands. After the harvest was in Pylypiw left for home, arriving in January, 1892. He was received eagerly and with excitement as the people wanted to know more about the new land he had visited.

This excitement was short lived. Rumours began to fly that he had never visited Canada and he had indeed robbed and murdered Eleniak. Adding to this problem was the fact that he began to collect money for steamship passages to Canada. This was quite legitimate. He had made an agreement with an agent in Hamburg to collect passage fares for immigrants to Canada. Despite harassment from the police he continued to collect the money and was prepared to leave for Canada along with his family and a group of villagers. He was arrested and put in jail but, because of scanty evidence, he was freed and in 1893 returned to

Canada. He settled with his family near the present town of Josephburg in what is now Alberta.

As the news of opportunities in Canada spread throughout the Ukraine the authorities became very concerned. Mass emigration to Canada would cause a shortage of cheap labour and a loss of recruits for the army. As a result there was considerable harassment and delays by government officials in granting the necessary documents for passage and in some cases people were forbidden to leave altogether.

Despite government opposition, immigration from the Ukraine to Canada continued. Between 1911 and 1914 the number of immigrants who arrived in Canada reached a high point which, even to this day, has not been surpassed. But this great wave of Ukrainian immigration was not only due to economic hardships in the Ukraine or the opportunities available in Canada. It was to a large extent the work of Dr. Joseph Oleskiw.

Dr. Joseph Oleskiw

In the late 1880s and early 1890s a large number of Ukrainians were emigrating to Brazil. Brazilian authorities had painted an idyllic picture of Brazil's opportunities for the Ukrainian peasants. They were doing this largely because there was a need for cheap labour on the plantations after Brazil had abolished slavery and black slaves were leaving the countryside. However, the immigrants soon found that not only was the climate different from what they had expected but the conditions were far from being a paradise. The peasants soon found that the interest rates on the money they had borrowed for the ocean passage were so high that they were deeply



in debt to plantation owners and not far removed from being in the condition of the former slaves.

One of the leading members of the Prosvita Society in the Ukraine for the improvement of the Ukrainian peasant farming people was Dr. Joseph Oleskiw. Realizing the problems in Brazil and knowing that land was being settled in the Western United States, he tried to get Ukrainian immigrants to go to Canada.

He worked very closely with Canadian authorities. He held conferences and lectures and published material that encouraged Ukrainians to immigrate to Canada. There is little doubt that the tremendous flow of immigrants from 1895 to 1914 was in large measure due to the efforts of this man.

The Hardships of Pioneer Life

The fact that the Prairies of Western Canada were much like the Steppes of the Ukraine and that the fertile soil held great promise for successful farming in no way guaranteed instant success.

Before ever arriving on the Prairies, the new immigrants had to make the difficult trip from the Ukraine to their new homesteads. The steamship, rail and wagon journeys were not only exhausting but took a tremendous toll of lives. Frequently there was a lack of food and the children were often the ones who suffered most. It was not unusual for families to arrive in Alberta with less members than had set out from the Ukraine.

But even those who arrived had to face tremendous hardships. They had to build some form of shelter, till the unbroken land, plant and harvest crops as well as endure the harsh and bitter winters.

In many of the colonies there were no doctors and little medical help of any sort. In the Alberta colony in the early days, 40 percent of children under two years of age did not survive.

In the following speech to the tenth Ukrainian Canadian Congress in 1971 at Winnipeg, J.C. MacGregor of Edmonton pays tribute to the Ukrainian pioneers who did so much to open up the Canadian West.

First of all I want to thank you sincerely for your very great kindness in permitting me to share in your celebration of the 80th anniversary of one of the very important events in Canada's history. Not only am I deeply moved by the reception you have given me, but I am considerably overawed by the tremendous talent assembled at this gathering — a lieutenant-governor, a senator, members of provincial and federal cabinets, mayors and judges — all of Ukrainian descent. For here is a small sample of the choicest fruit of the second or third generation crop of Ukrainian seed planted in Canadian soil — seed which was of such importance to a growing Canada.

But it was not ever thus — either in Canada or with Ukrainians. Eighty years ago when the prairies were virtually empty a new country of Canada called out for men and women of courage to convert that emptiness to the rich garden we now know as the provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba. Pioneers began to flock in from eastern Canada, the United States and from Europe. Most of them came with empty purses but with clear heads and strong arms.

And none came with emptier purses or clearer heads or stronger arms than those spearheaded in 1891 by Vasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylypiw. And none came with quite so many strikes against them — a language strange to Canadian ears, religious ceremonies previously unwitnessed by Canadian eyes and customs and costumes strangely different from Canadian ways — the raw material for the full practice of pioneer intolerance. Then for two generations this proud, religious and steadfast people became the hewers of wood and the drawers of water — the labourers who built the railway grades, opened the mines and cleared the forests.

I know that a great many Ukrainians never homesteaded and cleared and broke farm lands but instead made their homes in the prairie cities; Winnipeg, Saskatoon and Edmonton. But because of my immigrant homesteading background I tend to think of them in terms of the rural settlements of Stuartburn and Dauphin, Yorkton and Rosthern and Edna-Star. The same as Ukrainians, my family endured the sufferings of the bitterly cold Canadian winters, the almost unbearable hosts of mosquitoes, the tedious tasks of driving oxen through endless mud holes or of walking 100 or 150 kilometres to town for groceries or in search of work that could not be found. Moreover, I have been privileged to know so many of the Ukrainian pioneers — pioneers with gnarled hands and broken fingernails who sent their sons to fight their way into professional status in an anti-Slavic environment and now know many of them who are leading men in all walks of Canadian life.

So my heart is still with the pioneer farmers, and last week, as I do at least twice a year, I drove out through the hundreds of square kilometres of what was once the Edna-Star Ukrainian colony, and now, because of the bent backs and the aching arms of Ukrainian men and women and children, is one of the most beautiful and richest farming areas of Alberta. And as I drive I try to visualize the homestead days of the first ten years after 1891.

As often as I do I can still see, or imagine that I see, behind a sumptuous new home the skeleton of a once happy pioneer's thatched house. I can still see where stood the schools they built; Bukowina and Borowich, Zawale, Zaporozhe and Szypenitz, Kysylew, Kolomea and Molodia, and others — may these names never get lost! In my mind's eye I can trace the progress of those persistent pioneers as school trustees and municipal councillors, then as MLA's and members of parliament and finally as mayors, cabinet ministers and senators.

As a Canadian I am pleased that these kindly, generous, religious people imbued with democratic yearnings and inspired by Taras Shevchenko's aspirations for freedom found that freedom in Canada and within the framework of British institutions. And that having found it, they soon availed themselves of it and spread all over Canada until today in every walk of life from sea to sea they have become not only leading citizens, but citizens who in many, many respects we non-Ukrainian Canadians would do well to copy. Hopefully they may well round out their amazing performance by reintroducing freedom to their homeland, Ukraine.

Moreover, as a man — a male — I am grateful that eighty years ago the earliest pioneers introduced to this country the outstanding loveliness of their female folk whose haunting Slavic beauty is so evident in this gathering.

But let me recall to you those large areas of the prairie provinces in which Ukrainian farmers pioneered. Those areas so rich and prosperous today where once stood the Ukrainian community halls each focussed on a picture of Taras Shevchenko in a sheepskin coat and where today adorning many a hilltop and lighting up many a valley stands an eastern-style church. Let me recall the revered cemeteries where lie those courageous pioneers who eighty years ago broke the trail which you follow.

Finally, let me congratulate you — each of you for your own personal achievements — but all of you for being descended from your pioneering parents and grandparents. It is they for whom we are giving thanks today.

Non-Agriculturists

Not all Ukrainians who came to Canada at the turn of the century were agricultural workers. Many simply did not have the money to buy the necessary equipment to begin homesteading on the Prairies. As a result many of them took jobs in mines, lumber camps and railway construction. When they had sufficient funds they bought the necessary equipment and stake to begin farming.

The Ukraine is the proper place for Ukrainians. If there is such a country as Canada-Ukraine, we do not know of it. Hyphens should be left at the port of embarkation to be applied when the immigrant returns for good to the land of his fathers

John W. Dafoe

Prejudice Against Ukrainian Immigrants

Not only did the early Ukrainian immigrants face the problems of the elements, they also faced the problem of prejudice.

As immigration became more intense, Ukrainians began to settle in large groups rather than scattering as they had done earlier. One of the reasons for this was that the government had assigned large block areas to groups of settlers as they came.

But this was not the only reason for the community settlements that began to spring up. As we noted in Chapter 1, immigrants frequently tend to settle in areas where there are already members of their cultural group. It is only natural for newly arrived immigrants to seek the help of those who have come earlier, and especially on the Prairies a helpful neighbour was almost a necessity. This block settlement tended to bother some of the previously established groups. Many people argued that so many immigrants were arriving they must be planning to establish a new Ukraine in the Prairies. It was not uncommon for politicians and editors to accuse Ukrainians of this.

It was not block settlement alone that gave rise to prejudice against Ukrainian immigrants. In many ways they were very different from any other group that had come to Canada before. Their dress of sheepskin coats, their unusual language and their different religious traditions made people suspicious of them. In addition, as many of them arrived destitute in the New World they were immediately considered inferior.

Discrimination During World War I

The prejudice Ukrainians were subjected to in their early years in Canada was, in many ways, small compared to discrimination during World War I. In this article, "Ukrainians in Canada's Internment Camps," we get a brief glimpse of the way many Ukrainian Canadians were treated.

World War I in 1914 brought the 200 000 Ukrainian Canadians a host of new problems and tested their endurance and loyalty to Canada. Since tens of thousands of Ukrainian immigrants had come from Galicia province, then a part of the Austrian Empire, they were considered to be "Austrians" and were automatically designated as "enemy aliens" on the outbreak of war.

This was partly the result of a most unfortunate incident which created suspicion of Ukrainian loyalty at the very outset. On the outbreak of World War I, the Ukrainian Catholic Bishop N. Budka in a pastoral letter of July 27, 1914 called on Ukrainian Canadians as "duty-bound" to fight for Austria. The statement was taken by the government and Canadians as reflecting the complete lack of Ukrainian loyalty to Canada. When Canada a week later entered the war against Austria, Budka reversed his stand but the damage had been done. Ukrainian Canadians in the next five years suffered the consequences of his statement in extreme hardship.

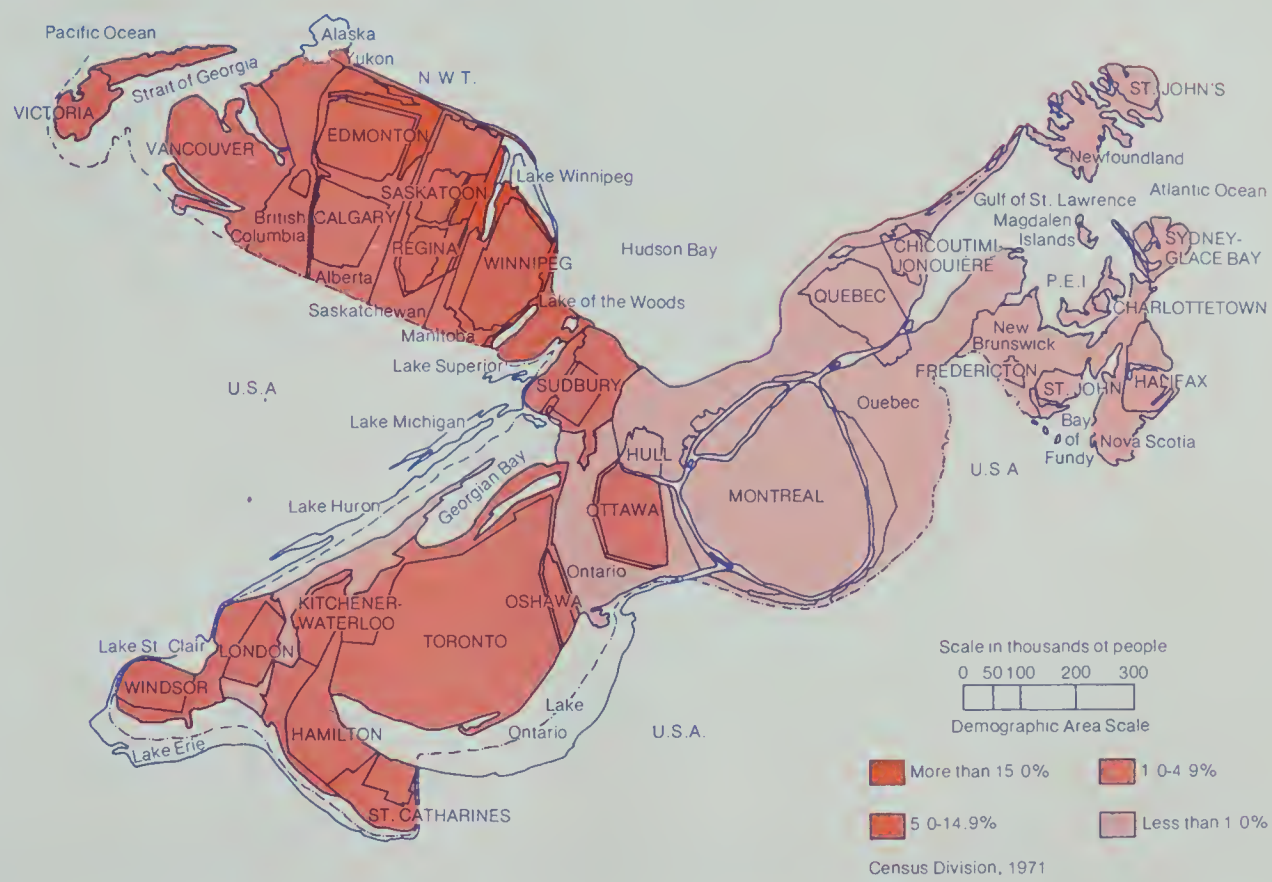
Ukrainians immediately faced dismissal from employment, looting of their property, disturbances of their church services, raids on private homes, personal assault and internment. About 9000 Ukrainian men, women and children of which 5200 were on the Prairies were in-

terned during the war. Major General Sir W.D. Otter, famous for his part in the Riel Rebellion of 1885, was in charge of the western internment camps. Internment camps were located in Manitoba: Fort Garry, Winnipeg, Exhibition Buildings in Brandon; Alberta: Exhibition Building in Lethbridge, Parks Building in Banff, tents at Castle, and railway cars at Munson and Eaton; Ontario: Kapuskasing, Cornwall; Quebec: Spirit Lake. The Ukrainian Canadian experience in World War I was similar to that of the Japanese Canadians in World War II.

Tension grew as the fierce war continued into its third year. Despite discrimination against Ukrainians (which even forced them to change their names in order to enlist) at least an estimated 3000, according to V.J. Kaye, joined the Canadian army. Some estimates range as high as 10 000. Since they were often forced to enlist as Polish or Russian to avoid revealing their Austrian identity the total may never be accurately known. Because of the thousands of Ukrainian Canadians in the army, their undoubted loyalty to Canada, and because of a severe labour shortage the government in 1916 began to empty the internment camps. Ukrainians were released on the condition they report regularly to the police. A large number was taken from the Kapuskasing Camp to work in Oshawa and this is apparently the origin of the large community there. The story of the Ukrainians unjustly and sometimes cruelly interned in Canadian concentration camps has not yet been studied and information on the subject is sketchy.

(Reprinted by permission from *Ukrainians in Canada, Part II*, Ukrainian National Federation.)

Ukrainian Population by Census Division, 1971



Source: Statistics Canada, *Perspective Canada* (Ottawa: 1974), p.268

Population by City of People of Ukrainian Origin

Calgary	15 850
Edmonton	62 650
Halifax	765
Hamilton	14 385
Kingston	510
London	3 360
Montreal	18 050
Ottawa-Hull	5 400
Peterborough	200
Regina	8 755
Saint John	170
Sarnia	1 020
Saskatoon	14 390
St. John's	60
Sudbury	5 625
Sault Ste. Marie	2 745
Thunder Bay	10 890
Toronto	60 755
Vancouver	31 125
Victoria	2 615
Windsor	6 970
Winnipeg	64 305

Source: 1971 Census

Immigration Between the Wars

The Ukrainians who emigrated to Canada between the two world wars came for a wide variety of reasons. Many were soldiers who had fought for the independence of the Ukraine and were fleeing as political refugees. Others were farmers, labourers and even university professors.

This group was much better educated than most of those who had come before World War I. The introduction of compulsory education of the peasants in the Ukraine had greatly increased the literacy rate. After the First World War the immigrants were not the illiterate peasant of the previous wave of immigration. The accomplishments of this second group tended to be more notice-

able than those of the first. For example, Ukrainian organizations, like the Ukrainian Self Reliance League of Canada, the Ukrainian National Federation of Canada and the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood were formed during this period, and a number of Ukrainian publications and newspapers also sprang up. But possibly an even more significant fact was the election of the first Ukrainian Member of Parliament, Michael Luchkovich in 1926. It was not long before MP's of Ukrainian origin were elected from all three Prairie Provinces.



Ukrainian Contributions in World War II

In much the same way as Ukrainians had become involved in World War I, they joined other Canadians in the war effort the second time. Besides the 40 000 Ukrainian Canadians who enlisted in Canada's fighting forces, they were active in the Red Cross and war production.

Immigration after World War II

The third wave of Ukrainian immigrants to enter Canada were largely displaced persons. They were Ukrainians who had been transported to Germany by the Nazis to work as forced labour. When the war ended there were literally thousands of Ukrainian displaced persons in Western Europe. Primarily

due to the efforts of Anthony Hlynka, an MP and a member of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, a large number of Ukrainians were allowed to come to Canada. From the beginning of 1946 to the end of 1965, 37 315 Ukrainians entered Canada. This group represented a cross-section of Ukrainian life. They included farmers, professional people, skilled workers, scientists, musicians, artists and scholars.

This recent wave of immigrants have had a great influence not only on Canadian society at large, but also on the organizations and institutions established by the preceding immigrants. Ukrainian settlement in Canada in the last 20 years has followed the general pattern of the rest of Canadian society. As Canadian society has become primarily urban, the Ukrainian groups in Canada

have also tended to move to the cities. The majority of Ukrainians are still concentrated in three Prairie Provinces. However, the fact that the largest concentration of Ukrainians is in Winnipeg, followed by Toronto and Edmonton shows that Ukrainians have become more urbanized. Other cities with substantial Ukrainian populations are Vancouver, Montreal, Hamilton, Thunder Bay, Saskatoon, Calgary and Regina.

There is no such thing as a model or ideal Canadian. What could be more absurd than the concept of an "all-Canadian" boy or girl.

*Pierre Trudeau at the
Canadian Ukrainian
Congress, 1971*

The Ukrainian Cultural Heritage

There are many aspects of Ukrainian culture, but most of us think of it in terms of the Cossacks, folk dancing, patriotic poems, music, painted Easter eggs and unusual Christmas celebrations. The following is by no means a complete description of the rich Ukrainian culture, but it does show some of its more familiar aspects.

The Cossacks

Cossackdom was a unique society that developed in the Ukraine. As a group of warriors, they protected the Ukrainian people from the slave raids of the Crimean Tatars and other hostile raiders. The Cossacks were most prominent in the Ukraine during the 300-year period from 1500 to 1800 and it is from this period that the colourful legends of the Cossacks originate. The government of the Ukraine was democratic and was open to all.

Although the Cossack dance is probably the best-known aspect of the Cossack way of life for most North Americans, it is only a small part of the exciting heritage of this group.

Hopak

Folk dancing is very much a part of the Ukrainian tradition. The most popular dance of the Ukraine is the Hopak. It is the dance usually associated with the Cossacks and is often performed only by men. It takes a great deal of physical stamina and agility to perform this dance as anyone who has watched must know. The Hopak was often a competition of skill and agility among the men who were attempting to impress the women with their physical prowess.



Lesia Ukrainka (1871-1913)

Lesia Ukrainka is considered the greatest poetess of the Ukraine. Born into a family with a considerable literary tradition, she started writing poetry at the age of nine and her first work was published when she was twelve. She studied world literature and travelled widely. Her poetry and dramas were written on complex philosophical and moral themes. She died prematurely of tuberculosis at the age of 42. A beautiful statue of her was recently unveiled at High Park in Toronto in October, 1975. The following is a newspaper account of the unveiling:

The sun broke through a steel grey cloudy sky for a moment in Toronto on Sunday, October 19, 1975 at 3:00 p.m. to shine on a crowd of 10 000 gathered to witness the unveiling of a statue of the Ukrainian poetess Lesia Ukrainka. A cheer went up when the covering fell from the tall monument on a hill in

the centre of Toronto's beautiful High Park. As if in response, the sun broke through the clouds to reveal the beautiful quality of the sculpture by Michael Cheresniovsky of New York. Toronto architect Ihor Stecura designed the base.

The Bandura

The bandura is the national musical instrument of the Ukraine. It is a multi-stringed musical instrument with a gentle but emphatic sound. The twelve to thirty string bandura developed from the kobza 300 years ago. The bandura is an important part of the Ukrainian tradition and in modern times bandura orchestra ensembles have been formed.

Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861)

Probably the greatest poet of the Ukraine is Taras Shevchenko. He was exiled by the Russian Tsar to Siberia for ten years because of his patriotic Ukrainian poetry. He is such an important part of the Ukrainian tradition that a statue of Shevchenko stands today in Winnipeg on the grounds of the Manitoba Parliament, and many Ukrainian Canadians continue to recognize Shevchenko Day here in Canada.

Serhiy Korolev (1906-1966)

A more contemporary hero of Ukrainian Canadians is Serhiy Korolev, whom many Ukrainians refer to as "the Ukrainian who conquered space."

On October 4, 1957 the world was astonished to hear the beep beep of the sputnik, the first man-made satellite. The man behind much of the work of developing the sputnik was the Ukrainian space genius, Korolev. He began his career in space research in 1933 but his contribution to this science remains largely unknown.

His anonymity is due to Nikita Khrushchov. Because of the political implications of his Ukrainian ancestry he remained "the invisible scientist" to the rest of the world. It was only after his death that his achievement was announced. Some of the recognition due to him came when an area of the moon was named after this great Ukrainian scientist.

The Church

The church has played a major role in the Ukrainian way of life for many years. It began in 988 when Vladimir the Great made Christianity as practised in Constantinople the state religion. All churches based on the church of Constantinople became known as Greek Orthodox. Among the Greek Orthodox churches are those in Greece and a number of neighbouring countries, as well as the state churches of most Slavic countries. At various times in its history the Ukraine was overrun by the Poles and the Russians. They both established their form of church in the Ukraine so that two separate Christian sects developed there, the Ukrainian Catholic Church



and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. The two have basically the same eastern or Greek rite. Such things as the liturgy, language, law, music and vestments are identical. In fact both the interior and exterior architecture of their churches are almost identical. The only significant difference is the fact that although both use the Latin cross, most of the Orthodox churches also use the Ukrainian Orthodox cross. This has three bars, the bottom one being diagonal.

The Ukrainian Churches in Canada

Just as the church was important in the Ukraine, it has in the past and continues to be important to the Ukrainian community in Canada. In the same way that the Roman Catholic Church is seen as crucial to maintaining French-Canadian culture, the Ukrainian churches are central to Ukrainian culture in Canada.

When the Ukrainian immigrants arrived there were not enough clergy to serve them all in their scattered communities. Because of this many practised their religion mainly in their homes. The first Ukrainian Orthodox Church was built at Gardenton, Manitoba in 1897 and the first Ukrainian Catholic Church was built at Star, Alberta a year later. Even after these churches were established the immigrants did not have their own clergy. They had to rely heavily on the Roman Catholic Church to provide clergy, and also on the travelling Russian Orthodox priest.

The twentieth century has seen a number of significant changes in the Eastern Orthodox churches. Some Ukrainians today still belong to the Russo-Greek, Ruthenian and Russian Orthodox churches but the majority belong to one of the two traditional Ukrainian churches, the Ukrainian Catholic Church or the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Orthodox Ukrainians today belong to the

Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada which was founded in 1918.

As we turn to a brief analysis of two of the major festivals still celebrated by Ukrainians we will see the significant role the church continues to play in Ukrainians' lives.

Rizdvo: Ukrainian Christmas

Rizdvo is celebrated on January 7th rather than December 25th. The reason for this is that the Ukrainian church has kept the Julian calendar, established by the Roman emperor, Julius Caesar. The calendar most of us use is the Gregorian calendar. In 1582 Pope Gregory XIII had the Julian calendar revised as it was not completely accurate. There was a difference of 13 days between the two. Although January 7 is often referred to as the Ukrainian Christmas, other churches such as the Orthodox Bulgarian, Serbian and Byelorussian also follow the Julian calendar.

The highlight of the Ukrainian Christmas is Sviata Vechera, Christmas Eve. The following article by Jennie Gregorovich shows how important the Ukrainian Christmas Eve Holy Supper really is.

If you happened to pass a Ukrainian home on a cold frosty Christmas Eve, you would be sure to see children's faces through peep holes in the window's frost. You would notice too, children at the windows of other cottages you pass. What are they looking for? They are waiting for the first star to appear in the eastern sky, because that is the sign that Sviata Vechera (Holy Supper) can begin. The delicious fragrances filling the house make the waiting difficult for the anxious children.



Do you notice the flickering light in the window? A candle has been placed in the window as a traditional Ukrainian welcoming sign for carollers and strangers. On the Eve before Christ's birth every traveller must be with friends.

Once you draw near the house, the aromas are sure to lure you in. What bustling! The first star has been sighted by the keen-eyed children so the supper can begin. First the *didukh* (a sheaf of wheat) is brought in by the father and placed in the corner, usually under an *ikon*. This sheaf is traditionally a pastoral sign of the unity within the family and with its ancestors.

And now places are taken at the table. At this same moment many years ago, Mother Mary was searching for a room in Bethlehem. Although no butter or animal fat is used in this meal because it is *lenten*, what tempting dishes have been prepared!

The meal always starts with the traditional *kutya*. *Kutya*, which is pronounced *kootia*, is a very ancient food said to be first used over 4000

years ago. It is a rich mixture of cooked wheat, ground poppy seeds, honey and, sometimes, chopped nuts. Father, after the traditional prayer and a greeting, is the first to take some from the bowl, then he passes it on. Everyone must have some, even if only a spoonful, for the family's partaking of this dish again denotes unity. Should anyone of the family be away, they are remembered by a little *kutya* left on their plate.

Now come the appetizers. These can be *borshch*, beet soup or pickled herring. Next comes an extensive array of foods to form the main course. Among these are fish (jellied, roasted or fried), mushrooms prepared in a rich sauce, *perohy* or *varenyky* (with either sauerkraut or potato filling), *holubtsi* (cabbage rolls made with either buckwheat or rice), and lastly a mixture of beans and prunes.

For a delicious dessert, stewed dried fruits such as plums, figs, apples, pears or apricots are served. Now come various Ukrainian pastries and cakes. *Khrustyky*

(fried twists of pastry), pampushky (small buns fried like donuts that are plain or filled with prunes or jam), poppy seed cakes and medivnyk honey cakes are among the traditional fare. The meal must consist of at least twelve dishes. This is symbolic of the number of Christ's apostles.

After such a fine feast, the family joins in joyful carolling and conversation. According to Ukrainian tradition no visiting takes place on Christmas Eve for the night is devoted to family companionship. On Christmas Day, however, the joys of the season may be shared by visiting.

During the impressive Christmas Eve supper groups of carollers will visit the home and the family will often join in to sing the familiar carols. Later in the evening the family prepares for the Divine Liturgy held in the Church at midnight. Halia Pidruchny describes it well:

The church, resplendent in holiday attire, is crowded with worshippers. Reverently they listen to the singing of the Troparion which pertains to the birth of Christ and to the reading of the Christmas story according to the Gospel of St. Matthew. Interspersed in the beautiful liturgical music is the singing of many traditional carols. Carol singing continues in the Church at each regular service until February 15.

The priest ends the service with the Christmas greeting "Christ is born!" (Khristos Razhdayetsia!) and the response comes in unison from the congregation, "Let us glorify Him!" (Slavite Yoho!). Then he begins the singing of the most beloved carol of all . . . God the Eternal is born today (Boh Predvichny) and all the worshippers join in the stirring hymn.



With the majesty of these thoughts still lingering, the worshippers return home warmed by the glow of a spiritual flame which has burned strongly for many centuries in the hearts of Ukrainians.

(Reprinted by permission from *Forum*, No. 30, 1975.)

According to tradition, Saint Nicholas Day, December 19, was the time for gift giving. Saint Nicholas Day is celebrated in most Ukrainian churches by a concert. At the conclusion of the concert Saint Nicholas arrives along with angels and a "chort" (devil), a young boy dressed in black. The angels give gifts to the children who have been good and the chort gives gifts to the children who have been bad.

Giving gifts on Saint Nicholas Day is not as important as it used to be. The majority of Ukrainian Canadians

now keep December 25 as the day for gift giving in the traditional Canadian fashion.

Malanka: Ukrainian New Year's Eve

The Ukrainian New Year's Eve is held on January 13th. The highlight of the evening is singing New Year carols called Shchedrivky. The most popular of these carols is called Shchedryk, more commonly known as "Carol of the Bells." Although you have probably heard the Carol of the Bells, Canadians usually sing it at Christmas. However, this seems rather strange to Ukrainians as Shchedryk is not a Christmas carol but a New Year's carol.

Velykden: Ukrainian Easter

Velykden, "the great day," is the Ukrainian Easter. The Mass begins in early evening and lasts until dawn. There are beautiful musical arrangements sung by a choir during this Mass.

Each family takes a basket of food with them to church. The most important thing in the basket is "paska," a special Easter bread. There are also ham, cottage cheese, beet relish, kobosa, butter, boiled eggs and baba, a very rich Easter bread. This food is blessed during the service and then the family takes it home to eat. The other important thing in the basket are the "pysanky," the famous delicately decorated Easter eggs.

Decorating Easter eggs is a part of the culture of many European nations. But probably the most beautifully decorated Easter eggs are those from the Ukraine. Decorating the Easter eggs has developed over centuries as a very highly skilled art. The miniature jewel-like works of art have a history and symbolism that date back to pagan times. In fact some of the designs still used today can be traced back 2500 years. The pysanky remain a symbol of Easter to many Ukrainian Canadians who pass on to their children the enjoyment and skill involved in this art form.

Contributions to Canadian Society

There are many Ukrainian Canadians who have made great contributions to Canadian society. To attempt to outline them all here would be simply impossible. Again we will give you a few examples to show some of the Ukrainian Canadians' achievements.

Filip Konoval

While thousands of Ukrainians were being detained in internment camps, thousands of others joined the Canadian army. One such man was Filip Konoval who was assigned to the 4th Infantry Brigade. The following brief account gives an idea of his bravery on Vimy Ridge, France, where many people of Ukrainian origin lost their lives alongside fellow Canadians.

On August 21, 1917, a foggy, rainy day the enemy unleashed a furious barrage of artillery and machine-gun fire in which all the officers and sergeants of Konoval's company were killed. Corporal Konoval ordered the rest of his men to take cover and alone attacked a machine-gun nest of the enemy. His men thought he had gone mad but Konoval eluded the hail of bullets, reached the machine-gun nest and killed three German soldiers by bayonet. Six more Germans attacked Konoval but he managed with two grenades and a bayonet to kill all six.

One more machine-gun nest remained nearby and the short Ukrainian Canadian attacked it single handed again and killed three soldiers. He then captured three other German soldiers and marched them back to Canadian lines with an enemy machine gun under his arm. Later in the day he attacked another German machine-gun nest but was captured and tied. He managed to free himself, and kill his guard (which made a total of at least 16 enemy he killed) and return to his company. Having survived virtually unscratched in all his furious attacks Corporal Konoval was standing in a Canadian trench reporting to a new commanding officer when he was hit by a German bullet and

seriously wounded. He spent six weeks in a military hospital in England.

For this conspicuous bravery he was awarded the Victoria Cross in 1917 by King George V at Buckingham Palace.

(Reprinted by permission from *Ukrainians in Canada, Part II*, Ukrainian National Federation.)

William Kurelek

One of Canada's most outstanding artists is William Kurelek. He was born in Alberta in 1927, later moved to Manitoba and now lives in Toronto. Kurelek's Ukrainian heritage has been an important part of his life and is reflected in much of his painting. His paintings of the Ukrainian pioneers in the West are probably his most well-known works, although he is often described as a religious painter because of the number of religious works he has done.

In addition to being an outstanding painter, he has recently become a writer of some renown. His books are *Someone With Me* (autobiography), *Prairie Boy's Winter*, *O Toronto*, *Lumberjack*, *The Passion of Christ*, *Prairie Boy's Summer*, and *Kurelek's Canada*. For these he has won a number of awards.

Chronology of Major Events in Ukrainian-Canadian History

1812-1814

Ivan Ruchkovsky from Shchuriv, Ukraine, Andrew Yankovsky and other Ukrainians in the De Watteville and De Meuron Regiments served in the War of 1812 defending Canada from American invasion.

1843

A farmer named David Fife, who lived near Peterborough, Ontario, obtained a sample of wheat. It had been taken from a ship from Danzig unloading wheat from the Ukraine in the port of Glasgow, Scotland. When he planted it and it sprouted in the spring of 1843 he found that it matured ten days earlier than other types of wheat. This factor changed the Canadian economy. This Ukrainian spring wheat, called Red Fife because of its colour, has been called "the first Ukrainian immigrant to Canada."

1872

Charles Horetzky, a photographer whose father was from Ukraine, accompanied the Sandford Fleming expedition to find the best route for the transcontinental railway. He published a book, *The North-West of Canada: Being a brief sketch of the North-Western regions and a treatise on the future resources of the country* (Ottawa, 1873), and other works.

1891

The first officially recorded Ukrainian immigrants to Canada, Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylypiw, arrived on the SS *Oregon* in Montreal on September 7, 1891. They were from Galicia, but a third pioneer, N. Koroliuk, came from Bessarabia, Ukraine the same year.

1894

Nine families began a Ukrainian colony at Beaver Creek near the hamlet of Star, Alberta, about 56 kilometres northwest of Edmonton.

1895

Dr. Joseph Oleskiw of Lviv started the flood of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. He was so impressed with the Prairies that he recommended Ukrainian settlement in Canada rather than in Brazil. His two booklets, *About Free Lands* (August) and *About Emigration* (December), inspired thousands of Ukrainians to make Canada the land of their choice.

1896

Cyril Genik became a federal immigration bureau agent in Winnipeg. He served until March, 1911 and was the first Ukrainian in the civil service of Canada.

1897

The first Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada, St. Michael's, was built in Gardenton, Manitoba.

1903

The first Ukrainian newspaper in Canada, *Kanadiysky Farmer* (*Canadian Farmer*) with John Negrich as editor, was published in Winnipeg on November 5. It is still publishing today.

1911

Ukrainian population of Canada: 75 432.

1928

Michael Hrushka joined the *Winnipeg Free Press* and became the first Ukrainian-Canadian reporter for a daily paper in Canada.

1939-1945

About 40 000 Canadians of Ukrainian descent served in the armed forces of Canada during World War II.

1940

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee was established in Winnipeg, November 7-8, to unite all loyal Ukrainian Canadian organizations in the war effort.

1951

Ukrainian population of Canada: 395 043.

1952

Bill Mosienko of the Chicago Black Hawks on March 23 set a record of 21 seconds for the "Fastest Three Goals" in hockey history. The Winnipeg Ukrainian was elected to the Hockey Hall of Fame at the CNE in Toronto in June, 1965.

1952

Saskatchewan Minister of Education gave approval in July for Ukrainian language classes as a regular high school subject in grades 9-12.

1955

The first Ukrainian Manitoba cabinet minister was Hon. Michael N. Hryhorchuk (Liberal), a barrister from Ethelbert, who served as Attorney General of Manitoba to 1958.

1956

Stephen Juba, MLA, was elected Mayor of Winnipeg on October 24. When he took office on January 3, 1957 he became the first Ukrainian mayor of that city. Mayor Juba still hold office with landslide victories at every election.

1957

Hon. Michael Starr, PC, was appointed Minister of Labour on June 21 by Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker and served in the post to 1963. Michael Starr was born in Ontario and was the first federal cabinet minister of Ukrainian descent. He first won a seat in Parliament on May 26, 1952 while Mayor of Oshawa in 1949-52.

1958

Hon. John Yaremko, QC, was appointed Minister without Portfolio on April 24, 1958 and was the first person of Ukrainian descent in the Ontario Parliament (November 22, 1951) and cabinet. In 1960 he was appointed Provincial Secretary and Minister of Citizenship and, after holding several other posts, on April 14, 1972 became the first Solicitor General of Ontario.

When a Ukrainian asserts "I am a Canadian," he means "I am an English-speaking Canadian."

Elizabeth Wangenheim

1959

Alberta high schools started teaching the Ukrainian language in September. The Alberta Minister of Education made the announcement on August 19, 1958.

1962

The Premier of Alberta appointed the Hon. Ambrose Holowach as Provincial Secretary on October 15. He was the first Alberta cabinet minister of Ukrainian origin.

1966

Sculptor Leo Mol, RCA, of Winnipeg was named to the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts at its annual meeting in Toronto in October.

1967

Labyrinth, the sensational film of Expo 67 brought fame to producer-director Roman Kroitor.

1968

Ukrainian language was added to English, French and German as a language requirement for admission to the University of Manitoba.

1969

National Ukrainian Festival at Dauphin, Manitoba was held on August 1-3, 1969 starring the Kuban Cossacks of Australia. Cecil Semchyshyn was chairman and Premier Ed Schreyer attended.

1971

Terry Sawchuk, one of the great hockey goalies, was elected to the Hockey Hall of Fame (CNE, Toronto) in June.

1972

Ukrainian language classes were offered in Ontario high schools for the first time in September. Three Metro Toronto schools and other high schools in the province offered the course.

(Reprinted by permission of Andrew Gregorovich, Toronto Ukrainian-Canadian Committee.)

Occupational Groups, 1971

	Ukrainian (percentage)
Managerial, administrative and related	2.9
Natural sciences, engineering and mathematics	2.5
Social sciences and related	0.6
Religion	0.1
Teaching and related	3.5
Medicine and related	3.0
Art, literature, performing arts and related	0.7
Clerical and related	14.8
Sales	8.4
Service	12.9
Farming, horticulture and animal husbandry	11.6
Fishing, hunting, trapping and related	0.1
Forestry and logging	0.4
Mining, quarrying, including oil and gas field	0.9
Processing	3.8
Machining	2.7
Production, fabrication, assembly and repair	6.9
Construction trades	6.5
Transport-equipment operation	3.7
Material handling and related	2.8
Other crafts and equipment operation	1.1
Not stated and not elsewhere classified	10.1
Total	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, *Perspective Canada: A Compendium of Social Statistics* (Ottawa: 1974), p. 275.

William Teron

William Teron, a native of Garden-ton, Manitoba, is one of the most prominent businessmen in Canada. He is President of the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. Among many other business involve-ments he is or has been President of the Carleton Towers Hotel, Marina City Kingston Ltd., and General Mortgage Corporation. He also holds such non-corporate posi-tions as a Trustee of the Ottawa General Hospital, a Governor of Carleton University, a Director of

the Rideau Club and is past President of the National Capital Arts Alliance, past Director of the Canadian Council on Urban and Regional Research and past Chair-man of the African Students' Foun-dation (Ottawa Branch). William Teron is only one example of many successful Ukrainian-Canadian businessmen.

Some Famous Ukrainian Canadians

Public Life

Andrew Shandro

First Ukrainian elected to a provincial legislature (Alberta)

Hon. William Wall

First Ukrainian-Canadian Senator

Hon. John Hnatyshyn

Senator

Hon. Paul Yuzk

Senator and pioneer of the concept of multiculturalism

Hon. Michael Star

First Ukrainian-Canadian federal cabinet minister

Stephen Juba

Mayor of Winnipeg

William Haurelak

Mayor of Edmonton

His Honour Stephen Worobetz

Lieutenant-Governor of Saskatchewan, appointed in 1969

Dr. J.B. Rudnycky

Member of Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

The list of Members of Parliament, Members of Provincial Legislatures, cabinet ministers, and municipal political figures could go on.

Science

Dr. O. Horrykiewicz

Renowned for his work in neurosciences

Dr. Joseph V. Charyk

Space scientist

Dr. P. Smylski

Oral surgeon

Music

Dr. Alexander Koshetz

Internationally known choral director

Luka Kolessa

Internationally known pianist

Ivan Romanoff (and chorus)

Violinist and conductor

Steven Staryk

Violinist

Al Cherny

Internationally acclaimed fiddler

Jury Krytiuk

Song writer and music company executive

Skip Prokop

Founder and leader of Lighthouse

Art

Leo Mol (Leonid Molodozkanyyn)

Sculptor and painter

Edward Drahanchuk

Potter

Stephen Repa

Artist

Peter Dobush

Artist and architect of Atomic Energy of Canada Building

Sports

Zenon Andrusyshen

Professional football player

Terry Evanshen

Professional football player

Bob Panasiuk

Professional golfer

Welf Homeniuk

Professional golfer

Leaders in Major Ukrainian Organizations

Stephen Rawluk

President of Ukrainian Research Foundation

Dr. I. Hlynka

Chairman Schevchenko Foundation, Winnipeg

Dr. B. Kushnic

President Ukrainian-Canadian Committee and the World Congress of Ukrainians



Juliette Sysak

"Juliette" is probably the best-known Ukrainian Canadian woman because of her long television career with the CBC as a singer and a hostess. During the decade from 1956 to 1966 she was one of the biggest names in Canadian television.

She was born in Winnipeg and moved to Vancouver at an early age. Because much of her television work was later done in Toronto she considers both Vancouver and Toronto to be her home towns.

Her warm personality and talent earned her the popular name "Canada's Pet — Juliette."

Richard Nixon: "How many missiles are aimed at Toronto?"

Leonid Brezhnev: "None, I have nothing against the Italians."

Time, July, 1972

Ivanka Myhal

Born in Thunder Bay, Ontario opera singer Ivanka Myhal has gained international fame. She has performed with the Metropolitan Opera Company in New York and with many symphony orchestras, including the Detroit Symphony, the St. Louis Symphony and the Miami Philharmonic, and has made a number of appearances at Carnegie Hall.

Her talent and beauty have best been summarized in the following newspaper report.

Ivanka Myhal, the mezzo-soprano, is a striking, statuesque, glamorous woman with a star quality that has the Metropolitan aura of grandeur. She has a sweet dramatic voice and a gift for acting.

John Bucyk

There are many Ukrainian names in Canadian sport but the biggest names are in hockey. They include such all-time greats as goalie Terry Sawchuk, goalie Turk Broda, Bill Mosienko, Eric Nesterenko, Bill Barilko and Vic Stasiuk. Three of these, Sawchuk, Broda and Mosienko, are all in the Hockey Hall of Fame. Of the more contemporary stars such as Walt Tkaczuk, Orest Kindrachuk, Larry Sacharuk, Cliff Koroll and Tom Lysiak, the most outstanding is John Bucyk who joined the hockey elite when he scored his 500th NHL goal on October 30, 1975. He continues to play for the Boston Bruins. A measure of his all-round approach to the game may be seen in the fact that he won the Lady Byng Trophy as the most sportsmanlike player during the 1971 season.

Whether or not the other recent Ukrainian-Canadian NHL stars are as successful as Bucyk or the Hall of Fame members, there is little doubt that Ukrainian Canadians have contributed a great deal to our national sport.

Conclusion

From this brief analysis of the Ukrainian cultural heritage, the patterns of Ukrainian immigration and the contributions of Ukrainian Canadians, perhaps we can understand a little better why they are so concerned about preserving their heritage.

Whether or not this culture remains depends on two factors. First, succeeding generations must be conscious of their heritage and be prepared to work to keep it. Secondly, any culture that has been transplanted to another country is always revitalized when a new wave of immigrants arrive. As long as the Iron Curtain remains in effect this will not happen. Because of this, the task of maintaining the Ukrainian cultural identity in Canada rests with the present generation of Ukrainian Canadians.

The Italians

The Cultural Heritage of Italian Canadians

The cultural heritage of Italian Canadians spans many generations and even centuries. One has only to glance briefly at the major contributions in the areas of music, art, literature, science and other fields to realize the impact Italians have had on world culture.

Among the many great Italians in these fields are Galileo Galilei (1564-1642) the famous Florentine philosopher, inventor and astronomer. It was he who gave great credibility to the Copernican theory that the earth travelled around the sun rather than the accepted theory that the earth was at the centre of the universe.

Whenever one speaks of great artists, the name of Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) comes to the fore. As well as being a great artist, da Vinci was a scientist, inventor, musician and architect. Another of the great artists in history was also an Italian, Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475-1564). His most famous works are the paintings in the Sistine Chapel depicting scenes from the Old Testament.

Another Italian inventor who has had a tremendous impact on twentieth-century technology is Guglielmo Marconi (1847-1937). He is most famous for the development of the wireless telegraph, more commonly known as a radio. The first transatlantic wireless message was transmitted by Marconi on December 12, 1901 from Cornwall, England, to St. John's, Newfoundland. As a result of this contribution he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1909.

Even from this brief selection we can see that the Italian people have made great contributions to knowledge and the arts in many areas.

Earliest Involvement in North America

By far the most important Italian to North American school children is Cristoforo Colombo (1451-1506). He is generally credited with discovering North America in 1492 when he sailed for the New World on behalf of the King and Queen of Spain. Although there is increasing evidence to indicate that the Vikings had explored North America considerably earlier, Columbus, nonetheless remains a significant figure in world history. But of even greater importance to the North American and eventually the Canadian scene was the work of Giovanni Caboto (1450-1498) who sailed for North America under the English flag. It was he and his crew who landed on Cape Breton Island in 1497 and discovered and claimed the North American mainland for England. From this time, Italians have continued to explore, settle and help develop Canada.

Italian Mercenaries

The first Italians in Canada were mercenaries who were fleeing from events in Europe. The first group were the Cristofi brothers from Messina, Sicily who had fled to France following the revolt against Spain in 1674. The King of France, Louis XIV, offered them posts as officer in the French army in New France. The two brothers, Tommaso and Antonio, had very distinguished careers in the early development of New France. Their efforts were recognized in 1703 when Louis XIV appointed Antonio governor of Trois-Rivières.



Another significant figure was Marquis Francisco Carlo Burlomocchi who was a colonel and commander of the French forces under Montcalm. He was promoted to major-general and later was nominated as governor of the Guadeloupe Islands.

It is also interesting to note that quite a few Italian mercenaries fought in the War of 1812. One of the important posts in the Niagara area was Fort George. One of the battalions that fought against the Americans was largely made up of Italian mercenaries. Although their contribution could easily be overlooked, it was nonetheless a very significant one.

Early Immigration

The beginning of organized immigration to Canada began in 1864 following the reunification of Italy in 1861. It was the beginning of what was to become a series of waves of Italian immigration which were to have a great effect on the development of the new nation.

Immigration in the Late Nineteenth Century

Overpopulation and poor economic possibilities forced many Italians to immigrate across the Atlantic. The initial groups came mainly from southern Italy where conditions were particularly bad.

Work on the Canadian Pacific Railway was one of the main attractions for Italian immigrants to Canada in the late nineteenth century. Many of these early immigrants worked on the railway during the summer and returned to Montreal or the United States during the winter. But some did begin to develop small settlements in Western Canada.

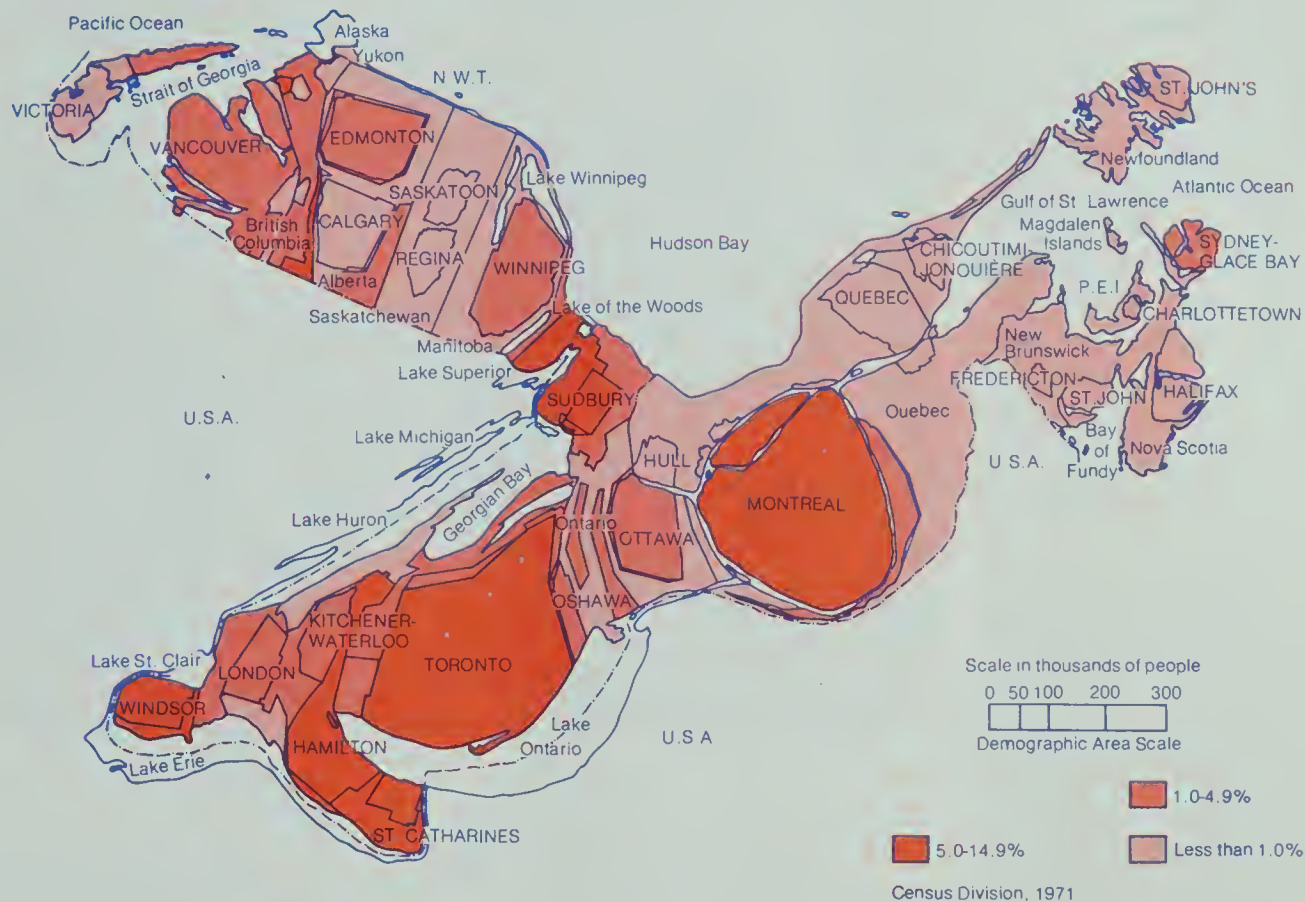
Immigration after World War I

The Italians who immigrated after World War I tended to move around less and started to settle permanently in one place. Women began arriving in increasing numbers to join their husbands, who had either firmly established themselves in the

I personally like Canadians. Very business-like people.

Alexei Kosygin

Italian Population by Census Division, 1971



Source: Statistics Canada, *Perspective Canada* (Ottawa: 1974), p.267.

construction trade or opened small businesses for themselves. With the development of these new homes, families and small businesses, the Italian community was beginning to establish its roots in Canada.

Immigration after World War II

After World War II a second wave of Italian immigration began. The problems of overpopulation, unemployment and general lack of economic opportunity after the war caused many Italians to immigrate to Canada. Between January 1, 1946 and December 31, 1965 approximately 375 000 Italians came to Canada. There is little doubt that this large influx of people had a tremendous impact on the Canadian way of life.

Presently, however, increased opportunities in Italy and changes in Canada's immigration laws have combined to reduce the flow. Other Canadians, who have long relied on the labour and craftsmanship of Italian workers, are now discovering the rich complexity of Italian culture as it merges with the Canadian mosaic.

The Italians have concentrated themselves in two large cities, Toronto and Montreal. There they have maintained close-knit communities based largely on strong family ties.

The Problems of Adjustment

On arriving in Canada the Italian immigrants, as any other immigrant, face many problems of adjustment. In many ways the problems of Ita-

Population by City of People of Italian Origin

Calgary	9 810
Edmonton	9 015
Halifax	1 450
Hamilton	40 315
Kingston	1 355
London	6 880
Montreal	160 605
Ottawa-Hull	15 170
Peterborough	1 180
Regina	990
Saint John	405
Sarnia	2 135
Saskatoon	710
St. John's	125
Sudbury	10 335
Sault Ste. Marie	13 260
Thunder Bay	10 605
Toronto	271 755
Vancouver	30 045
Victoria	1 840
Windsor	20 155
Winnipeg	9 395

Source: 1971 Census

lian immigrants are even greater than those coming from other areas. The majority of Italians who have come to Canada are from economically depressed areas of southern Italy and in many cases have never lived in large industrialized centres. When they arrive, they not only have to make the transition of leaving their homeland and coming to a new country, but they also have to change from small village life to a large industrialized urban city. This obviously puts Italian immigrants at a social and economic disadvantage.

When a new immigrant arrives in the country the greatest problem is that of language and communication. Not only is the immigrant unable to speak the language but he or she is unable to read the street signs, order a meal from a menu, make a simple telephone call, or read the employment advertisements in the newspaper. There are also the problems of day-to-day relationships such as communicating with one's employer, filling out government forms, making a deposit at the bank and registering children at school. The Italian immigrant, as any other immigrant, must rely on a great deal of assistance from others in order to function in their adopted country.

But the problems do not end there. Even a person coming from rural Canada to one of the large urban centres has difficulty in adapting to a new environment. The Italian immigrants who, in many cases, were little more than peasants in their homeland find the whole urban way of life very strange.

The immigrant must also learn about the system of government in Canada. In a small Italian village,



the many social agencies that we have in Canada simply do not exist. The various levels of Canadian government, federal, provincial and municipal, are also very confusing to a new immigrant. It is frequently difficult for them to understand that one particular problem should be dealt with by a federal agency and another type of problem by a municipal one.

Little Italy

Whenever an immigrant arrives from another country, he or she usually looks for a community where some of his fellow-countrymen have already settled. In many cases people who come to Canada already have friends and relatives established here. But those who do not also find a certain sense of security in seeking out people from their own country.

As a result, in cities like Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa and Vancouver pockets of Italian immigrants have developed. In Toronto,

for example, by 1971 there were more than 271 000 Italians. It was not long before an area of the city became known as "Little Italy." This area was traditionally the area along College Street in the heart of the city. But as the Italian population expanded Little Italy spread further east and west along College Street as well as north and south until areas as far north as St. Clair Avenue came to be considered as part of Little Italy. But the Italian population of Toronto was not limited to this area alone. In the eastern, western and northern areas of the city, there have sprung up pockets of Italian settlement as well. Each borough of the city has some area that is largely Italian in character. This pattern is much the same in all the larger cities in Canada.

Because of this, a person can arrive from Italy today and live his whole life in a strictly Italian environment in any one of a number of Canadian cities. Many of the prob-

Italians have a kind of open-ended relationship, which takes in friends, neighbours, people you meet, as part of your life.

Elio Madonia

lems of Italian immigrants today are cushioned by this fact. The one disadvantage is that some Italian immigrants, especially the women who do not have to work outside the home or immediate community, often do not learn English as they do not need it in their everyday life.

Italian Immigrant Aid Societies

In order to help the immigrants, Mutual Aid Societies were established. Their primary function was to give initial financial help and protection to new immigrants. They played an important part in the lives of the early immigrants. However, they went beyond providing just the simple material requirements. In times of illness, tragedy, accidents and death they provided people with the moral and personal support that they needed in the absence of close family and friends.

Two of the most important societies formed in the early part of the twentieth century are still in existence today; the Order of the Sons of Italy and the Order of Italo-Canadians. The oldest is the Order of the Sons of Italy, first established in British Columbia in 1905 and later in Ontario in 1915 at Sault Ste. Marie and in the province of Quebec in Montreal in 1919. Several branches of the Order of the Sons of Italy broke away the parent group in 1924 to form the Order of Italo-Canadians. Today the lodges of both societies are frequently organized according to the regions in Italy that members originally came from.

But today in every urban centre across the country there are various other organizations that have been established to assist people arriving from Italy. The services they provide make the transition less difficult for the newly arrived immigrant.

Services Provided

One such service is letter writing. A member of the organization will meet with someone who cannot write the English language and draw up an appropriate letter. It may be a letter of inquiry to the Unemployment Insurance Commission, a clarification of a legal matter or a letter seeking some form of social assistance. Closely associated with this service is one for filling out forms. In a society that is almost addicted to "form filling" many immigrants need assistance. The immigrant organizations perform a very valuable social service by helping people to fill out the many and varied forms that are required.

In addition, when immigrants receive a letter, notice or report written in English they will frequently take it to one of the organizations in the community to have it translated for them. But the service goes beyond simply translating. There is frequently advice and counselling about how to deal with the matter. Since many of these things have to be followed up by interviews or consultation most organizations provide what is referred to as an "escort service." A member of the agency accompanies the immigrant to the government office, hospital or school to assist as a translator in the interview. Not only does this help communication but it also reduces the immigrant's fear and anxiety about dealing with the unknown.

It is clear that the immigrant aid or mutual service societies perform a tremendous service.

Italian Community Development Centres

In recent years there has been less of a demand for this kind of help. The reason for this, of course, is that the more established the Italian community becomes, the more support, companionship and advice is available from friends and relatives here in Canada who have already been through the adjustment process. However, this does not mean that this service is no longer used, but the organizations have recognized the trend and have now also become community development centres. Thus the initial concept of providing aid to newly arrived immigrants has not been replaced but the emphasis has in many cases been placed on development of the community as well.

This has involved such things as male senior citizens clubs, daycare centres, cultural events and parent assistance programs. The parent assistance programs try to inform parents about the education system that their children are going through. In addition, a number of the community development centres provide remedial assistance in the form of tutoring for students of Italian background who are having difficulty coping with the English language.

Although the transition we spoke of earlier is very difficult, efforts are being made within the Italian community to assist new immigrants in coming to grips with the problems. You would probably find that the leaders of these organizations in your community are very receptive to coming to talk to your class about the work that they do and how they attempt to help the Italian community deal with the cultural shock that they experience.

The Italian Community in Toronto

The Italian community's achievements in Toronto are clearly recognizable in many ways. The number of Italians working in the construction industry explains to a large extent the tremendous building growth that has taken place in that city. In addition their goal of owning their own homes has resulted in renovations of large sections of the city which had been rapidly degenerating. But the contributions have not been limited to the construction trades.

Many of Toronto's leading businessmen and professional people are now second and third-generation Italians.

However, the Italian community is quickly becoming aware of some of the costs that integration and success are bringing. In this article by Gerald Utting, "The Price of Success," we get some feeling for the rising concern over the loss of their cultural identity.

The Price of Success By Gerald Utting

Metro's 400 000-strong Italian community, prosperous and comfortable after a quarter of a century of labour and saving since the mass migration began in the late 1940s, is finding that success in the New World can raise a problem never dreamed of in the hardship of post-war southern Italy.

It's a problem of identity: How to retain the culture of the home country, which has contributed so much to world civilization, while integrating within a multicultural Canada.

Offered Little Hope

Most of the Italians who came to Toronto in successive waves of immigration, had one goal — to



shake off the poverty of a stagnating society that offered little hope to those who didn't own land or have businesses.

They came to find jobs, to make money, to save, to get their own homes, to become success stories, Toronto-style.

Today, in this metropolis that owes much to their hard work and skills, the same Italians are homeowners, taxpayers, parents.

One Toronto Italian school teacher told *The Star* proudly that, while many Metro Italians had a peasant background, "Today they're the peasants who own St. Clair."

The Italians have spread from their original downtown neighbourhoods to the suburbs — to Downsview and Bayview and Scarborough. They've gone from washing dishes and digging to becoming company presidents, millionaires, civil servants, politicians. While your hairdresser might be an Italian, and the greengrocer and the brawny construction worker across the street, so might the manager of your bank,

the man who does your tax returns, the fellow who designs your apartment building, the financier who juggles millions to develop new suburbs, and your wife or husband.

But there has been a price in cultural terms. Italian-Canadian children are growing up unable to speak properly to Mom and Dad, unable to talk at all to their cousins when they go back to Calabria or Abruzzo for a vacation, unable to read the two Italian community newspapers, unable to read Dante, except in English translation.

The Italian government and the Italian community leaders in Toronto — if any people as individualistic as Italians can be said to have leaders — together with the Metropolitan Separate School Board, have begun a program of teaching Italian in some primary schools.

Teaching Italian kids to speak Italian? The idea is not to supplant the English they hear around them, even if that were possible, but to have them become fluent in Italian as a second or third language.

A Special Arrangement

Some 2700 children in five separate primary schools are involved in the program, which began late last year, in 109 classes from kindergarten through to grade 10.

The 14 special teachers are employees of the Italian government, immigrants to Canada who have teaching licenses from Italy. They do not have Ontario teaching certificates as yet, but are permitted to instruct children in the separate schools, under the supervision of the regular staff, by arrangement between the separate school board and the Ontario Ministry of Education.

The in-the-school program is just one of a number of educational schemes largely funded by the Italian government through its foreign ministry budget.

Rome's foreign ministry is spending \$200 000 in Ontario alone this year under its cultural and language programs, designed to help Italian emigrants and their families abroad.

There are about 1 million Italians and Italian Canadians in Canada, and 3 million more in countries such as Australia and Switzerland, Germany, France and Britain.

The Italian foreign ministry provides funds to assist after-school and evening classes through such institutions as churches and the Dante Alighieri Society in most large Ontario cities, but the new program in the Metro separate schools is the first of its type in Canada. The Italian foreign ministry has an Italian Cultural Centre in Montreal, and there are plans to open one in Toronto if the funds become available and the Italian community here agrees that it is needed.

The language program is just one way in which Metro Italians and Ital-

ian Canadians are moving to try to prevent their heritage from seeping away.

Another community effort — and it's probably the main focus of Italians as a community in Toronto — is the Villa Colombo project that has brought together the organizing talents of a number of Canadians of Italian descent and Italian-born Canadians.

It's a home for senior citizens of Italian background that's rising on Playfair Ave., in the Lawrence-Dufferin area, a \$4.5 million building that is intended to reflect the Italian community's gratitude towards elderly people.

Echoes of the Mediterranean

Its architecture will contain echoes of the Mediterranean and the Italian-Gothic tradition in its windows and piazzas. The staff, including medical workers, will be able to talk to the elderly people in Italian.

The Italian tradition is that young people look after their parents in their own homes, but in a way the Villa Colombo project reflects the change among Toronto's Italians.

Many families have become so Canadianized that the old folk don't feel entirely comfortable. They might want to live close enough to visit their grandchildren, and be visited by them, regularly, but they find the blare of TV in English, the Canadian food, the preoccupation of the young with hockey more than they can take fulltime. Hence the Villa Colombo.

Elio Madonia, founding chairman of the Villa Colombo project committee and a Metro businessman with interests in food and drink processing, told *The Star*: "We Italians feel we have a responsibility to the

old people, not just to our parents but the parents of all. If they choose not to stay with us, if they want to live by themselves, we have to provide somewhere for them.

"Respect is like love, it is not real unless it is manifested It must have a physical, practical result. There are thousands of old folks in Toronto who came from Italy to help their sons and daughters bring up families here, and they must be looked after."

That "practical" form of "respect" for the aged of the community was shown in a forceful way last June 14, at a banquet at the Inn on the Park, when 600 Italians pledged \$2 643 000 to the project in one evening.

Fifteen people pledged \$50 000 each. One contractor, Fred De Gasperi, pledged \$50 000 for himself and \$347 500 for his business associates.

Paul Ariemma, secretary of the Villa Colombo project and also secretary of FACI, an organization that co-ordinates the efforts of some 70 Metro Italian clubs and associations, said: "Italians in Toronto are members of one of the most affluent groups in Canada, and the success story is particularly striking in that most Italians here came from rural areas.

Improved Area, Then Moved Out

"They moved first into rundown areas of the city, improved them, then moved out into the suburbs, where they became to outward appearances just ordinary Canadian suburbanites.

"For the first 10 or 15 years after mass immigration started in 1947, Italians here had only one goal. To make a success. . . . To get a job. To buy a house.

Villa Colombo is not only a home for the aged, it is also a community centre for senior citizens and the community at large



"This desire to succeed may have in fact slowed down integration, because in order to succeed fast, the Italians had to cluster together where they could help each other and speak each other's language.

"They were certainly successful in attaining their aims — 87 percent of Italians in Toronto own their own homes. Now the Italians are starting to think about fuller integration, becoming part of the mainstream of Canadian life and saying something about its quality and direction.

"We want to make a contribution to this country higher than what we have already given through our labours in such fields as construction in the past.

"To be able to make such a new contribution, we have to know ourselves, our culture, and carry out our own community projects."

Airemme said that Metro Italians are not hesitant in telling the Italian government that they are a big source of trade and tourism for the old country.

"We demanded and got about \$35 000 from Rome for the library of the Villa Colombo," he said.

"We demanded that the Italian government pay \$100 000 towards the cost of a planned tour of Canada by the La Scala Opera of Milan. The tour didn't come off because the company couldn't fit in in the time available, not through lack of cash."

Ariemma said that, locally, his federation convinced the University of Toronto to set up an independent department of Italian. Formerly Italian was treated as just one of the Romance languages.

Elio Madonia says the Italian community has reached a point where it's starting to worry about the erosion of its sense of identity.

"They're worrying that we might lose the things that are of value about being from Italy," he said.

Madonia, who has run as a Progressive Conservative candidate provincially, says that one thing that bothers him is that the Italian government has become more active

among immigrants in the past five years, and that a lot of political work is being done under the umbrella of social concern.

"Half a dozen organizations with headquarters in Italy that are arms of political parties have begun operating here under the guise of giving social aid or helping to arrange for pensions," he said. "They are influencing a certain section of the Italian population.

Political Leaders Visit Canada

"They promote a dissatisfaction. And political leaders from Italy have visited Canada to promote these activities."

The ruling Italian Christian Democratic Party is, of course, concerned that the Communist vote in Italy could one day put the Reds in power in Rome. Presumably, the Rome government would not be unhappy if the millions of Italian-born immigrants in Canada, Australia, the United States and northern Europe could be persuaded to serve as a counter-balance.

"Our community is being infiltrated by the politics of Italy and we of the Italian community resent it," says Madonia. "We are not temporary transfers. We have planted our roots deep and intend to stay. We have great respect and love for Italy, but we don't want the politics of Italy here."

(Reprinted by permission of the *Toronto Star* March 1, 1975.)

The Italian Community in Montreal

One of the most interesting insights into the Italian community of Montreal is provided in the Studies of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Vol. 7, "The Italians of Montreal, Social Adjust-

Canadians often consider that the family is only the husband, wife and children under 16, and then only if it doesn't interfere with their personal freedom.

Elio Madonia

ment in a Plural Society.” This study by Jeremy Boissevain gives an insight into a variety of aspects of the Italian population in Montreal. Many of the comments here are based on this study and the authors are indebted to Monsieur Boissevain.

The History of Italian Immigration in Montreal

There are basically three stages of Italian immigration to Montreal roughly paralleling the immigration patterns of Italians to other parts of Canada. The first wave started just before the turn of the century and ended in the early 1920s; the second began in the mid 1920s and lasted until World War II; and the third was from the end of the war to the present.

The growth of the community during this early stage can be seen in two statistics. In 1901 there were only 1600 people of Italian descent in Montreal, but by 1921 there were 14 000. Because of international politics, wars and Canadian immigration policy (see Chapter 1) the number of Italian immigrants coming to Montreal, as to the rest of Canada, was very small between 1921 and 1941. But this changed dramatically

after World War II with a resurgence of immigrants. Early Italian immigrants had settled mainly in Quebec, especially Montreal, but between 1951 and 1961 only 26 percent of Italian immigrants arriving in Canada settled in Quebec.

Patterns of Settlement

The settlement patterns in Montreal are not unlike those in Toronto. Although there are people of Italian descent living in all parts of Montreal, there are five areas where they are particularly concentrated. The patterns of Italian settlement generally follow the same lines as the history of the city. The first settlements were close to the river but then they started to spread north, east and west from there.

The first Italian settlement was along the CPR tracks near Bonaventure Station. The inexpensive housing in this area, combined with the nearby jobs in the railway yard and at the port, made this the most suitable area for unskilled workers to settle in. Later waves of immigrants have moved further out as the lure of the suburbs and the countryside has attracted French, English and Italians alike.

ence the political direction of the land they had chosen for their new home.

The Depression

As is the case in any recession or depression, those at the bottom of the socio-economic order are the ones most directly affected. The Italians, along with people of other ethnic minorities, were drastically affected by the depression of the 1930s. They were the first to be laid off work and many lost their houses when they could not keep up their mortgage payments or when they were forced to sell to cover other debts.

The War Years

Being Italian in Canada during World War II was difficult. In 1940, the leaders of the community, who had gradually emerged over the years, were eliminated almost overnight. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police rounded up the leaders of the Italian community and sent them to the internment camp at Petawawa as enemy aliens. The French and English Canadians, who were accepting the Italian immigrants more easily, began to turn against them. As a result Italians tried to play down their Italianness.

Canadian Population of Italian Origin, 1871-1971

Year	Italian Canadians
1871	1 035
1881	1 849
1891	2 500
1901	10 834
1911	45 963
1921	66 769
1931	98 173
1941	112 625
1951	152 245
1961	450 351
1971	730 820

The Problems of Early Immigrants

The first groups of Italian settlers who arrived in Montreal were faced with a totally foreign social, economic and cultural environment. Having no one to turn to for assistance, they had no choice but to rely on each other. They had no formal organizations to fight against the prejudice and discrimination that they experienced both on and off their jobs.

With no community leaders, there was really no way they could influ-

After World War II

Despite the setback of the war years, the Italian community in Montreal quickly re-established itself. The various associations and organizations that had either collapsed or ceased to function came alive with new enthusiasm and vigour. Although much of this resurgence was from Italians already firmly established in Canada, the greatest thrust came from the new immigrants eager for a new life in a new land.



The Importance of Family and Kinship

The closeness of the Italian family discussed earlier is also very characteristic of the Italian community in Montreal. The following excerpt from Boissevain's study indicates this.

The presence of most Italians in Montreal is due to the help they have received from kinsmen Many Italians borrowed money from relatives already in Canada in order to finance their passage; others, received the necessary legal guarantees and help in finding both accommodation and employment upon arrival. Relatives cluster near each other; many share the same house

A third of the immigrants in our sample had close relatives living either in the same building or within five minutes of their own house. Even among those persons of Italian descent born in Canada, ties of kinship are still very strong. A

full two-thirds had close relatives living within five minutes, including over one-half who had relatives living in the same building, though not necessarily in the same dwelling area, for most live in duplex apartments.

Earning a Living

The primary reason that immigrants left Italy was because the economic opportunities were better in Canada. In general, the immigrants who came were peasants and day labourers and they became unskilled or semi-skilled factory workers or general labourers in Canada. However, as the chart shows, later generations tended to move up the socio-economic ladder.

The Church

From the outset, the church has played a major role in the development of the Italian community in Montreal. Over 90 percent of people of Italian descent are Roman Catholic. The local church or parish deter-

mines which Italian community one belongs to. Being a member of a particular parish involves various rights and duties. Every parishioner is expected to take part in the "Rites of Passage" — baptism, confirmation, marriage and funerals. In addition, it is expected that every family will support their parish financially.

The person responsible for the spiritual well-being of the congregation is the parish priest. He acts as the link between the local parish and the church hierarchy. He has considerable prestige and is respected outside the Italian community as well as within it. Frequently, Italians, particularly recent immigrants, call upon him to represent them in both religious and secular matters. These might include registering children at school and dealing with the various social agencies of the government. The parish priest usually has at least one other priest to help him carry out his duties and responsibilities.

The church is, in many ways, the focal point of the Italian community. The weekly Masses, the celebration of important annual festivals such as Christmas and Easter, the feasts of patron saints, and the rituals of baptism, confirmations, weddings and funerals bind the Italian community together. The parishioners come together on these occasions, which helps to foster a sense of community. Although there is no formal or institutionalized sense of neighbourhood, the parish in itself creates a very real sense of community.

The church is also important in another way. By conducting services and matters of business in Italian, the priest reinforces the church as a cultural centre for the

Even where Italians represent 90 or 95 percent of the student population in some Toronto schools, notices are sent out in English.

Elio Costa and Odoardo Di Santo

community. Since Roman Catholicism is such an important part of the Italian culture, the church plays an important part in preserving the Italian culture here in Canada.

Associations

There are approximately 60 associations organized for and by Italian Canadians in Montreal. They vary from such things as mutual aid societies and occupational and professional associations to social organizations. Although they tend to have distinct functions, many of the associations cover more than one aspect of community life.

The oldest of the associations are the mutual aid societies. They began shortly after the initial wave of Italian immigrants came to the city. They act in many ways like an insurance company. Each member contributes so much a month in return for certain benefits. For example, if someone was unable to work because of injury or illness they would receive a limited pension each week. In addition, if the breadwinner of the family dies, the widow would receive financial assistance to cover funeral expenses. As the provincial government has become more involved in the whole area of social welfare, the insurance aspect of the mutual aid societies has become less important. Nevertheless, they continue to play an important role in the community. They are now involved in various social activities such as organizing banquets, dances and charter trips. The two largest associations in Montreal are the Sons of Italy and the Order of Italo-Canadians.

A very important association is the Canadian Italian Business and Professional Men's Association. It has modelled itself on a similar organization established in Toronto.

The membership includes leading Italian-Canadian professional and businessmen in Montreal. This group considers itself the spokesman of the Italian community of Montreal. They have on various occasions presented petitions and briefs on a variety of issues. Other people within the Italian community, however, argue that the CIBPA does not necessarily represent the views of the Italian community.

A second organization has been formed of professional and businessmen. They left the CIBPA and founded the Association of the Italo-Canadian Professional Men. The members of ICP tend to be professional men and business executives, while there are more small businessmen, shopkeepers and contractors in the CIBPA.

The large number of associations and their varied social, economic and cultural activities shows how

vibrant the Italian community is in Montreal. However the Italian community is not closed in on itself. There is a constant interaction with the community as a whole in day-to-day economic, social and political life. Because of this, language and therefore education become a very important issue.

The Issue of Language and Education

Whereas adult Italian immigrants learn the English or French language at their jobs or at night school, the children learn to communicate in one of these two languages through the school system. In Quebec there are English schools and French schools including Protestant ones and Roman Catholic ones. Thus parents have many options of where to send their children. As most of the Italians are Roman Catholics, the majority opt to

Reasons Why Parents Favour French-Language Education for Their Children	
French is the language of Quebec	15%
French is more difficult to learn than English, therefore you must study it	15
Parent educated in French	9
Most relatives and friends speak French	15
French schools are nearer than English ones	32
The French schools are better than English ones	6
Other	8
Total	100
Number	34

Reasons Why Parents Favour English-Language Education for Their Children	
English facilitates moving to other parts of Canada	31%
It is easier to get jobs with English	24
English must be learned at school, French can be picked up in the street	12
English is the most important language in North America	9
English school is nearer than the French one	7
Parent educated in English	1
Most relatives and friends speak English	1
English is the language of the most influential businessmen in Montreal	1
English makes it easier to become accepted as a Canadian	0
Other	14
Total	100
Number	144

send their children to schools run by the Roman Catholic School Board of Montreal. However, they must decide whether their children will attend the French or the English schools within the Roman Catholic School Board jurisdiction.

Pupils of Italian origin have been attending English-speaking schools at an increasing rate. Parents are choosing to send their children to the English-speaking schools because they feel they will have better job opportunities if they speak English. They do not send their children to English-speaking schools because English makes it easier to become accepted as a Canadian.

Bill 22

As we saw in Chapter 4, the Quebec government has been very concerned over the erosion of the French language in the province. As a result they have introduced Bill 22, which is designed to stop this trend.

A key aspect of the bill is that it provides for a proficiency test in English before a student is permitted to enroll in an English-language school. Quite clearly this step is aimed at directing immigrants to French-language schools as opposed to English-language schools.

How would you react if you were a recent Italian immigrant living in Montreal?

Contributions to Canadian Life

Contributions by people of Italian origin have ranged over a wide area of activities and accomplishments. Their contributions reflect two key characteristics of their makeup; a capacity for hard work and an appreciation of things artistic.

As we noted earlier, Italian migra-

Occupational Groups, 1971

	Italian (percentage)
Managerial, administrative and related	1.8
Natural sciences, engineering and mathematics	1.3
Social sciences and related	0.3
Religion	0.1
Teaching and related	1.6
Medicine and related	1.1
Art, literature, performing arts and related	0.6
Clerical and related	9.7
Sales	6.7
Service	13.0
Farming, horticulture and animal husbandry	1.8
Fishing, hunting, trapping and related	--
Forestry and logging	0.2
Mining, quarrying, including oil and gas field	0.4
Processing	6.2
Machining	5.2
Production, fabrication, assembly and repair	15.6
Construction trades	15.3
Transport-equipment operation	2.6
Material handling and related	3.4
Other crafts and equipment operation	0.7
Not stated and not elsewhere classified	12.4
Total	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, *Perspective Canada: A Compendium of Social Statistics* (Ottawa: 1974), p. 275.

Occupations of Immigrants and Canadian-Born Italians

Occupation	Immigrants		
	Occupation in Italy	Present Occupation	Canadian- Born
Managerial	2%	5%	24%
Professional and technical	6	4	10
Clerical	1	2	14
Sales	7	3	9
Service and recreation	5	8	5
Transportation and communication	2	6	0
Primary (agriculture, fishing, etc.)	42	1	0
Craftsmen, production, etc.	23	40	38
Labourers	10	31	0
No occupation	2	0	0
Total	100	100	100
Number	176	176	21

Italian construction workers have done much to help the building boom in Canada.

I say the best Canadian poet is Phil Esposito, and that is not a joke.
Yevgeny Yevtushenko



tory workers were a key element in the labour force that built the CPR. They were also an important part of early canal, road, harbour and building construction.

From those early Italian immigrants emerged many individuals who, through foresight, initiative and hard work, founded their own construction companies. One example of this was Vincent Franceschini who saved enough money to buy a team of horses and later founded the Dufferin Construction Company of Toronto. Two other similar examples are Emilio Orsini and Johnny De Toro who both worked, saved and struggled to found major construction companies. Similar examples of self-made men in the construction industry can be found in virtually every city across the country.

During the post-war construction boom, the Italians moved from work in railway, canal and harbour construction to work in residential construction, industrial plants, commercial offices and subways. But this contribution has not been limited to

the larger centres alone. The development of smaller communities, including those in the North, are a direct result of the Italian contributions in the construction trades.

Apart from the large construction firms, there are many small independent Italian contractors who employ themselves and possibly a few workers. They often specialize in trades such as ornate masonry work, marble cutting and tile work. These small firms are also frequently the ones called on to repair and renovate homes and offices.

Some measure of Italian workers' contribution to the growth of Canada can be seen in the tribute by Mayor David Crombie of Toronto. Speaking at a memorial service honouring the over 200 Italian workers who lost their lives in industrial accidents between 1953 and 1973, he commented that when future historians write the history of Toronto they "will acknowledge that it was the Italian construction workers who made it a great city."

The mining industry has also attracted a great many Italian

workers. Many of the mining centres, such as Schefferville in Quebec, Yellowknife in the Northwest Territories, and Trail in British Columbia, have quite large Italian communities.

Music and Opera

Music and particularly opera have traditionally been a major part of the rich Italian culture. It is not surprising that Italian Canadians have made a significant contribution to music in Canada. Some of the earliest and most prominent Italian contributions were made by such people as Francesco D'Auria (Toronto Conservatory of Music) and Giuseppe Dinelli (Conservatory String Quartet). Other important names include Violet Balestreri Archer (composer), Bert Niosi, the well-known musician and conductor of jazz and popular music, and Frank Massella the Montreal-born clarinetist.

In addition the Italian community has been very strong in their support of opera companies in Canada. Some of the prominent Italian names in opera include Ernesto Barbini (Canadian Opera Company) and Mario Bernardi a very distinguished concert pianist and conductor of the National Arts Centre Orchestra.

Theatre and Art

One of Canada's most prominent actors and radio and television personalities is Bruno Gerussi of Vancouver. He gained a considerable reputation as a Shakespearean actor at Stratford, Ontario. However, he is more widely known for his various roles on television. Two other significant people in the acting field are Leo Ciceri and Giovanni Gino Juliani.

An Italian supermarket where many of the products are from Italian food processors in Canada.

It is fortunate that the use of the bomb should have been upon the Japanese rather than upon the white races of Europe.

William Lyon Mackenzie King, Diary



The list of Italian-Canadian painters who have made a contribution to art in Canada include Guido Molinari, Gentile Tondino and Mario Merola.

Italian Cuisine

One of the most obvious contributions has been in the area of food products and the restaurant business. Some of the finest restaurants in Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver and many other Canadian cities are Italian. Canadians have clearly developed a palate for Italian cuisine.

But the taste for Italian foods is not only limited for fine Italian restaurants. The manufacture of Italian food products in Canada allows Canadians to enjoy Italian cuisine in their own kitchens. There are a number of Italian Canadians who have gone into the food processing industry. Two names that stand out are Charles Honoré Catelli and Pasquale Gattuso who both established Montreal firms specializing in Italian foods.

Public Life

There have been many outstanding people of Italian origin in public life. Some of Canada's finest lawyers, judges, justices of the peace and mayors have been Italian Canadians. Some people stand out as they led the way for later Italian contributions. Judge Peter Shortino was the first person of Italian origin to be named a judge of the Quebec Supreme Court. The first magistrate of Italian origin to be appointed to the bench in Ontario was Charles A. Fassel. Angelo Ernesto Branca became a Justice of Appeal in the Court of Appeal of British Columbia. Rosa B. Gualtieri was the first president of the Women's Law Association of Quebec. The list could go on and on.

Although there were a number of people of Italian descent elected to provincial legislatures before 1957, the first Member of Parliament of Italian origin was Quinto Martini. Since then there have been a number who have served with distinction as MP's.

The Japanese

The first Japanese to come to Canada were young single men who were attracted by the opportunities for work on the West Coast. They started arriving in 1877 and the number of Japanese immigrants grew slowly for the next 20 years. Most of them only intended to stay until they had earned and saved enough money to return to Japan and escape the poverty they had known there. Their numbers were limited by an informal agreement between the governments of Canada and Japan. Nevertheless, as time went on, many decided to make their homes here and brought their wives and families to British Columbia. The total number of Japanese living in Canada in 1896 was less than 1000. However, by 1901, the number had risen to 4738 and by 1911 it was 9021.

Anti-Asian Attitudes

The Japanese workers were often resented by other Canadians who saw them as a threat to their jobs. Also, with a large labour force of Japanese, wages would probably drop. Persecution of the Japanese was common and in 1907 the prejudice and bigotry erupted in the infamous anti-Oriental riots in Vancouver. Still, the problems faced by the Japanese were not merely brought on by mob violence and the attitudes of some ordinary Canadians. The legal system worked against them too.

Inequality Before the Law

The government of British Columbia decided that there were too many Oriental immigrants living in Canada. It was decided that they were a threat to the white culture. Accord-

ingly, a law was passed making it illegal for people of Chinese and Japanese origin to work in the mines. The reasoning behind this was that if the Oriental people were denied the jobs that they usually held, they would have little choice but to return to their own country. This law was challenged and in a famous court case it was ruled unconstitutional. It was ruled that the laws of Canada could not discriminate against people because of their country of origin.

At about the same time, however, the legislature of British Columbia passed another law that made it illegal for any person of Oriental background to vote in the province — even if the person was a Canadian citizen. This statute was upheld because the court ruled that there was nothing in Canadian constitutional law to prevent discrimination because of race. The same principle was used in 1914 to uphold a law passed by the province of Saskatchewan that made it illegal for a white woman to be employed by an Oriental man. What is upsetting is that although all these laws have since been changed, there is little in Canadian law to prevent similar things from happening even today. The laws and judgements in question are still the major legal precedents on the treatment of aliens in Canada.

There was little further immigration from Japan until after the Second World War. However, for the many Japanese who remained in Canada life was not always easy and they were still discriminated against in many ways.

Japanese Organizations

The Japanese people were particularly good at organizing themselves into a variety of societies and

groups. They applied social and political pressure to fight discrimination and to keep their communities together. They formed over 200 religious and secular associations in British Columbia. When specific crises arose, they were ready to band together and fight for their rights. In 1926, the federal government attempted to impose restrictions on the Japanese fishermen's right to hold fishing licenses. In response, the fishermen created the Amalgamated Alliance of Japanese Fishermen, which succeeded in modifying Canadian policy. The Japanese were also supported by the government in Japan. In 1902, an alliance between Japan and Great Britain was formed. This brought pressure to bear on the Canadian government to disallow many of the British Columbia statutes that tried to curb the freedoms of Japanese

Canadians. Both their own strength and the assistance of the Japanese government helped to lessen the discrimination against the Japanese people.

Treatment During World War II

In 1941, however, the tide turned again. With the attack on the United States' naval base at Pearl Harbor, the situation of the Japanese Canadians was dramatically altered. Despite the fact that many Japanese had been living here for at least two generations, they were all treated as enemy aliens. To quote an authority on the treatment of the Japanese during World War II:

The experience of the Japanese during the war is probably the worst single example of oppression of a Canadian minority group by the combined for-



We visited the people who bought it,
you can't blame them.

*Muneo Takeda, of his farm in
Langley, BC that was sold
during World War II*

It was a blessing in disguise for many.
We wouldn't have our people in
business and the professions had we
stayed in British Columbia.
Kyoto Shigehiro

ces of public opinion and government policy in the entire history of the country. Other groups may have suffered more persistently over the long run, but only the Japanese have been subjected to so concerted a programme of official persecution. It is worth considering this story at some length for the light it casts upon the vulnerability of a racial minority, even in a liberal democratic nation, when civil liberties are suspended in emergencies for reasons of the "national interest."

Following the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, there was fear of a Japanese attack on the West Coast of Canada. It was the popular belief that the Japanese Canadians living in British Columbia were a subversive force eager and ready to aid invaders from the Far East. In January, 1942, the government of Canada, using the provisions of the War Measures Act, forcibly removed all Japanese (whether they were Canadian citizens or not) from the coast and transported them at least 160 kilometres inland. The forced removal took until September to complete and meant the evacuation of approximately 22 000 people.

Disposal of Property

The Canadian government then put all the property owned by the Japanese into the hands of an official called the Custodian of Enemy Alien Property. He had the power to dispose of the property as he saw fit. He sold the homes, land, businesses and fishing vessels of the Japanese to white Canadians at extremely low prices. The Japanese Canadians, of course, protested, but their protests were ignored. The wealth and security that for decades they had worked for was taken from

them with little compensation. As for the people themselves, they were taken to relocation camps where they were subjected to forced labour building roads and working on other public projects. After deductions, they were paid \$7.50 per month for their labour.

The Japanese experience was a disaster for the group and a series of personal tragedies for the individuals. Their position in the fishing industry was severely undermined through the sale of their equipment to the white Canadians with whom they had successfully competed for years. On a more personal level, at least one of the Japanese farmers whose land was sold was a veteran of World War I who had received military decorations for his courage in the service of the Canadian armed forces.

The Right to Vote

After the war, the conditions of the Japanese slowly returned to normal. Most Canadians consider the right to vote as a basic right of all citizens. The way in which this right was given to and taken from the Japanese is an indication of the changing Canadian attitudes towards them. British Columbia had refused people of Japanese and Chinese origin the right to vote in the 1890s because of their race. This restriction had been applied to the Chinese in 1875 and extended to the Japanese and all members of the Oriental race in 1896. In Saskatchewan, similar legislation was imposed in 1909. Then, in 1920, British Columbian MP's tried to deny Orientals the right to vote in federal elections. Their efforts were successful and in the Dominion Franchise Bill, the Canadian government ruled that people who, by the laws of any

province of Canada, are disqualified from voting for a member of the Legislative Assembly of that province because of their race, shall not be qualified to vote in the province in federal elections.

There was an exception to this rule. In 1931, after years of protest, 80 Japanese Canadians who were veterans of World War I were allowed to vote. Only in 1947 did the Chinese receive the right to vote in Canada; only in 1949 were Japanese Canadians given the same privilege.

A New Start

Many Japanese Canadians look upon their experience in World War II with mixed feelings. While they regard their treatment as discriminatory, they see their removal from the coastal areas of British Columbia as something of a blessing in disguise. In 1941, there were 23 149 Japanese Canadians and 96 percent of them lived in British Columbia. Now, however, they have spread all over Canada. In fact, there are more Japanese Canadians living in Ontario than British Columbia, including more than 10 000 in Toronto alone.

This trend has brought the Japanese into closer contact with Canadian culture and has helped them to assimilate more fully into Canadian society. They are no longer a people whose main source of income is related to the sea and the land. Instead they are now becoming prominent in businesses of all kinds and in the professions.

Japanese Culture

Many Japanese have adopted Canadian culture as their own. Nevertheless, the Japanese heritage is still cherished. In this section we will

present a brief description of two aspects of the rich Japanese culture. This will only give a glimpse of the Japanese way of life, but we hope that it will inspire some people to pursue the study more closely.

Japanese Religious Tradition

There are three major sources of Japanese religious teaching. They are Shinto, the ancient Japanese religion; Confucianism, a moral philosophy brought to Japan from China concerned largely with society and with the present; and Buddhism, a philosophy of eternity, which originated in India and spread through China to Japan.

Shinto

For more than 2000 years Shinto has been the national religion of Japan. It teaches the spirit of Nippon and emphasizes a belief that nature is sacred, that the trees, waterfalls and mountains are all to be venerated. It also teaches the sacred unity of each man and his country. Thus, there is in Shinto a reverence for the Emperor and for one's ancestors and a faith in the communion of the living and the dead. It is Shinto that has been responsible for the fierce national spirit of the Japanese people through the ages.

Confucianism

The moral philosophy of Confucianism is clearly different from Shinto. This set of beliefs is distinguished by its highly rational approach to questions of ethics. It teaches a moral code of strictly defined rules and duties. Of special importance are the duties of the son to the father and of the citizen to his government. Of great importance, too, is the complex etiquette that constitutes much of the formality of Japanese

customs. Behaviour in the family and in society at large is guided at all times by respect for one's superiors and by rigid discipline. Thus, while not fervently nationalistic, the Japanese attachment to Confucian thought clearly complements the national religion.

Buddhism

Less complementary is the 1500 year history of Buddhism in Japan. Buddhist teachings can be divided into several categories. There is Mahayana Buddhism which is a life-loving philosophy and a very impor-



Members of the Japanese community in Toronto after World War II were reluctant to build up an ethnic association structure such as had existed in Vancouver in the 1930s, because of the resulting visibility of the Japanese group.

*Royal Commission on
Bilingualism and
Biculturalism*

tant sect within it is known as Zen Buddhism. There is also Hinayana Buddhism which is narrower and less open. As one commentator put it: "Perhaps the main difference between the two systems is to be found in their exemplars: the Hinayana Arhat seeks nirvana and Buddhahood fervently, whereas the Mahayana Bodhisattva willingly postpones entering the blessed state until all others can be saved."

But what is the "blessed state"? What is nirvana? It is not easy to understand the religion of the East because Buddhism is really a philosophy more than a religion in the Western sense. Buddhists do not use words like God, nor do they speak of the salvation of the individual soul in heaven. They speak of salvation as a state of mind, a way of living life without thought of immortality. As the great exponent of Zen, D.T. Suzuki, put it: "When we talk of Nirvana we imagine that there is such a thing just as there is a table or a book. Nirvana, however, is no more than a state of mind or consciousness which comes when we transcend relativity — the world of birth and death."

Through meditation, Buddhism seeks to achieve nirvana by wiping out all the foolish questions and anxieties that plague human existence. The good Zen man seeks to understand and appreciate life as it is. He believes that the real answers to questions of a religious nature come only when we stop asking questions. The truth cannot be spoken because it is beyond words.

There are many stories of how people achieve enlightenment. They normally begin with a young monk asking all kinds of questions about the meaning of life or the nature of God. Then, the master will say

something quite simple that will show the monk that all his questions are in vain and that the true understanding of life comes from living it in simplicity and compassion.

It is said that one monk achieved enlightenment after the following exchange:

The young monk went to his master and pleaded: "Master, save my soul."

"Very well," said the master, "bring your soul to me and I shall save it."

"But, Master," replied the monk, "I cannot find my soul."

"Then," said the master, "you can be sure that it is safe."

The subtle message here is that if there is such a thing as a soul, it is not something that can be carried about or made safe. Such things ought not to concern us as living people. Instead, we should go about our daily affairs content in the experience of life itself.

The influence of Japanese religious and philosophical thought runs throughout traditional Japanese life. In all aspects of society and custom, the form of religious thought can be seen. In the martial arts, in the arrangement of flowers and in the tea ceremony, the influence of religion is felt.

Japanese Poetry

In Japanese poems we find the same attempt to achieve simplicity as we do in the philosophy of Zen. The most famous of Japanese poetical forms to Westerners is the *haiku*.

Haiku poetry need not rhyme. Its rules, however, are strict. It is normally a three line poem with a very few syllables. Haiku was largely developed by Basho (1643-1694) whose "feeling for Zen wanted to

express itself in a type of poetry altogether in the spirit of *wu-shih* — 'nothing special'." Thus, Basho wrote, "To write haiku, get a three-foot child" because it is only through the eyes of a small child that the world can be seen as an object of wonder without formal intellectual interpretation. The haiku poet tries to use language economically and to say as much as possible in as few words as he can.

The beauty of nature is expressed in such a way as to give the impression that the poet has no mind apart from what he sees. The haiku poem expresses things just as they are, without comment. It is a view of the world that the Japanese call *sono-mama* — "just as it is," or "just so."

Here are a few haiku poems that illustrate the point.

How admirable
He who thinks not, "Life is fleeting,"
When he sees the lightning!

The stars on the pond;
Again the winter shower
Ruffles the water.

A trout leaps;
Clouds are moving
In the bed of a stream.

They spoke no word,
The visitor, the host,
And the white chrysanthemum

On the topic of haiku, one observer wrote,

A haiku is not a poem; it is not literature; it is a hand beckoning, a door half-opened, a mirror wiped clean. It is a way of returning to nature, our moon nature, our cherry blossom nature, our falling leaf nature, in short to our Buddha nature. It is a way in which the cold winter rain, the swallows

I am constantly reminded of what my grandfather told me: the moon shines just as much on a handful of water as on a lake. We may find truth under a pebble. Truth is probably very small.
Raymond Moriyama

of the evening, even the very day in its hotness, and the length of the night become truly alive, share in our humanity, speak their own silent and expressive language.

The long night
The sound of the water
Says what I think.

Contributions to Canadian Life

In the nineteenth century the miners, lumbermen and fishermen of Japanese ancestry contributed much to the development of British Columbia through their labour. But since World War II, Japanese Canadians have played a significant role in many other aspects of the Canadian community. The following people are representative of some of the Japanese who have emigrated to Canada since 1945 or who are long-established in this country and have made their impact on Canadian life.

Arthur Tateishi is the founder of Sea-breeze Manufacturing Company which makes phonographs, tape recorders and other electronic equipment. His was the first Canadian company to produce phonograph turntable motors and he pioneered the design of automatic record changers.

Lucien Karata, QC, was named deputy magistrate in Toronto in 1966 and was the first person of Japanese background to be named to the bench in the entire British Commonwealth.

T.K. Shoyama had been chief economic advisor to the government of Saskatchewan before becoming a senior economist with the Economic Council of Canada in 1966.



David Suzuki is possibly the most well-known Japanese Canadian. A famous geneticist, Dr. Suzuki has become a regular part of the lives of many Canadians through his involvement in radio and television. Not content to remain in the research laboratories of the university, Dr. Suzuki has made every effort to bring science to ordinary people through his educational and entertaining broadcasts.

There are many more people who come to mind, artists such as Kazuo Nakamura, architects like George Tanaka and Raymond Moriyama and, for a short time, symphony orchestra leader Seiji Ozawa have all make their mark on the cultural life of Canada.

The Chinese

The first Chinese to settle in Canada came to mine gold in the Fraser River in 1858. Many of these miners came north from California where they had settled following the gold rush of 1849. Not all remained in Canada after the gold had been exhausted, but those who did formed the basis of one of the oldest ethnic communities in Canada.

Almost all the original Chinese people came from the province of Kwangtung which is southeast of the great city of Canton. Those who did not come north from the United States sailed directly from the crowded British port of Hong Kong. They came because they were attracted by the possibility of striking gold and because the conditions in China were very bad. Poverty and overcrowding made emigration an attractive option.

A second massive wave of immigration came in the years 1881 to 1885. Thousands of Chinese workers from the farms of Asia were brought here to work on the construction of the CPR. They cleared the land and laid the tracks that drove the railway through the Rocky Mountains and towards the east. When the railway was complete, the Chinese workers were thrown out of work. Some worked their way east, some went to the United States and some moved back to China. The majority, however, stayed in British Columbia where they opened small businesses such as restaurants, grocery stores and hand laundries.

Immigration Restrictions

For the next several decades the door to Chinese immigration was all but closed. In 1875 a Chinese had



to pay \$50 for the right to immigrate to Canada. By 1903 the sum had reached \$500. Legislation passed by the Canadian government in 1923 virtually eliminated the possibility of immigration. During this time the Chinese were subjected to many of the same harassments that faced the Japanese, although of course they were not interned in World War II.

The government changed its attitude in 1947. At that time the Chinese Immigration Act was repealed and a very different relationship between the Chinese community and the rest of Canadian society was begun. From then on many Chinese brought their families to Canada and the Chinese community grew in number. It became more and more integrated with Canadian society. After years of isolation, Chinese children began to attend schools with other Canadians. As they got a better education they began to move into business and professional occupations which

made them more a part of the Canadian mainstream.

The Chinese in Canada now number more than 60 000. They live mainly in Canada's larger cities with a large proportion in Vancouver and Toronto.

Chinese Organizations

There are a great many associations of Chinese Canadians. These grew up originally as self-help groups that tried to minimize the effects of discrimination. Unlike the Japanese, whose organizations confronted the larger society, the Chinese stressed inward-looking kinds of associations. They tried only to protect themselves and to cope with change rather than actively to fight to preserve their rights.

The great benefit of such organizations has been their remarkable ability to provide social services for members of the Chinese community. As one commentary put it, "The Chinese have seldom if ever depended on public or private

charity. They have always looked to their own people in time of sickness and unemployment or when they were in legal or financial difficulties." These defensive organizations have now broadened their perspective and many Chinese community groups now also strive to promote mutual understanding between the Chinese people and other members of Canadian society.

There are several kinds of Chinese associations. Most people of Chinese descent belong to the Chinese Benevolent Association or to one of the many Chinese Community Centres. Such organizations provide assistance to its members whenever needed. They also have legal and medical services for members and look out for the interests of the community at large.

There are also associations of people from the same districts in China to which people automatically belong. These groups provide mutual help and protection in matters that do not require the strength of the Benevolent Association or the Community Centre.

There are also clan or family groups. The Chinese share the Japanese heritage of Confucian thought. Thus, they place great emphasis on family relationships and they revere their ancestor. Since all people with the same family name are assumed to be descended from the same ancestors, many people are associated with the great "Tongs" or family organizations. Branches of the Tongs are found wherever there are enough people to form one and the Tong becomes a focus for social gatherings on important occasions such as weddings as well as the arrival of another member from China.

"No Aliens Need Apply"

*Anti-Oriental plank in the
platform of BC politician
Sir Richard McBride who was
defeated in the federal election
of 1896*



Finally, Chinese have formed close alliances in their occupational groups. Businessmen, merchants and tradesmen all have organizations that protect their interests.

Customs

The Chinese have made a great impact on Canadian life through their distinctive and popular cuisine and through their enthusiasm for celebrating traditional holidays. On the first day of the new moon after the sun enters Aquarius, Chinese celebrate their ancient festival on the traditional New Year's Day. On that day businesses close and Chinese families gather together.

In the spring, the families usually visit the graves of their ancestors and bring with them an offering of food on the day of the Festival of Pure Brightness. This ritual helps to solidify family relations and stresses the belief that even in death people remain spiritually close to their families.

Another important festival is the Harvest Moon Festival which takes

place on the fifteenth day of the eighth month of the traditional Chinese calendar.

Finally, many Chinese celebrate the National Day, October 11, which commemorates the mutiny that broke out among the Manchu troops in Wuchang and led to the revolution that brought Sun Yat-Sen to power.

Religion and Philosophy

The great sages of ancient China wrote and taught ideas that have lasted through the centuries. Here are some selections from a book written more than 2500 years ago by the Chinese philosopher Lao-tse. The book is called *Tao Teh Ching* and is said to have been written when Lao-tse was 90 years old. It teaches how to attain the Tao (pronounced Dow) and how to demonstrate Teh (pronounced Duh).

Unfortunately there are no adequate English translations for these words. Most people translate Tao as "the way" or "enlightenment" or even "God." None of these words, however, conveys the true meaning of Tao. Similarly Teh is often said to be "virtue" or "wisdom" or "honour" but it, too, means more than this.

The influence of the *Book of Tao* is still felt among Chinese everywhere. It represents the wisdom that is part of a civilization that predates our own.

What is the Tao?

The Tao described in words is not the real Tao. Words cannot describe it. Nameless it is the source of creation; named it is the mother of all things.

To see Tao the observer must be motiveless. Those with selfish motives see only the surface, not

the innermost depths. These two kinds of observers look alike but differ in the insight of their observations.

They look alike because they are both human; within humanity is the key to the door of creation. . . .

There is something mysterious, without beginning, without end, that existed before the heavens and earth. Unmoving; infinite; standing alone; never changing. It is everywhere and it is inexhaustible. It is the mother of all.

I do not know its name. If I must name it I call it Tao and I hail it as supreme.

What is the Teh?

The Teh follows the Tao.

Tao is like a dream: invisible; intangible; obscure. It is invisible yet there is form to it. It is intangible yet there is a feel to it. It is obscure yet there is method to it. The method is true and so there are signs of it.

From ancient times until now the signs have never ceased by which we can see the beginning. How can I know the nature of the beginning? By these signs! . . .

Whatever is firmly planted is not easily uprooted; whatever is firmly grasped is not easily loosened. Thus, generation follows generation, continuing endlessly.

Accept Tao in yourself and Teh is yours; accept Tao in the family and Teh is abundant; accept Tao in the village and Teh multiplies; accept Tao in the nation and Teh flourishes; accept Tao in the world and Teh is universal.

The Main Path of Tao

Let me walk along the main path of Tao and avoid by-paths of worthless knowledge. I would not leave this

The new China will never forget Dr
Bethune. He was one of those who
helped us become free. His work and
his memory will remain with us forever.
Madame Sun Yat-Sen

main path, so easily followed, but many people prefer the by-paths.

The palaces are well kept while fields go untilled and the granaries are empty. To wear elegant clothes, to carry a fine sword, to gorge with food and drink, to have wealth and riches, all this invites plunder. Is this not departing from Tao?

On Intelligence

To know what you do not know is best. He who thinks he knows what he does not know is sick in mind.

One who sees this sickness for what it is is not sick in mind.

The followers of Tao are not sick in mind because they know this.

The Best Leader

As for the best leaders, the people do not notice their existence. The next best, the people honour and praise. The next, the people fear; and the next, the people hate.

If you have no faith people will have no faith in you, and you must resort to oaths.

When the best leader's work is done the people say: "We did it ourselves!"

With Tao You Are Supreme

In ruling men be reserved. To be reserved is to conform to Tao; to conform to Tao is to achieve Teh; with Teh anything is possible; because anything is possible, no one knows your supremacy; because no one knows your supremacy, a nation can be ruled well; because this is a Mother Principle it long endures; therefore you are as deeply rooted and as immortal as it is.

Tao in War

Whoever advises a ruler according to Tao opposes conquest by war.

Policies of war tend to rebound. Where the armies march, brambles grow. Whenever a great army is formed, hunger and evil follow. So, a wise general achieves his goal and stops; he does not battle beyond victory; he wins, but does not boast of it; he wins, but does not celebrate it; he wins, but does not revel in the spoils; he wins, for it is his duty to win; he wins, but not from love of violence. Things reach their peak, then decline. Violence opposes Tao. Whoever opposes Tao dies early.

Contributions to a Developing Canada

The labour of Chinese workmen was a vital contribution to the completion of the CPR. In addition, much of the development of British Columbia both before and after the completion of the railway was due to the efforts of the Chinese in mining, lumbering and fishing.

Despite significant discrimination until the end of World War II, the Chinese have begun to gain the economic advantages that they have worked so hard for. Since they have been more accepted into Canadian society they have opened up their community to outside influences. They are now moving away from the ghettos in the inner parts of many Canadian cities where they had remained for decades. The Chinese have been severely restricted until quite recently. Now, however, the Chinatowns in large Canadian cities are either being abandoned or, more likely, are the scene of cultural and economic growth and rejuvenation.

Chinatown is no longer an inescapable residential ghetto. It is becoming the focus of exciting developments as the Chinese become

more involved in the political, legal, occupational and social processes in the cities.

There are, of course, drawbacks. Many Chinese are losing interest in their traditional customs and institutions and are drifting away to the suburbs where they shut themselves off from the traditional benefits and influences of their community. On the other hand, it is likely that this strong community will remain to enrich the cultural lives of many urban Canadians. The Chinese community shows us a way of life derived from a civilization much older than that of the West.

Population by City of People of Asian Origin

Calgary	7 920
Edmonton	9 675
Halifax	2 605
Hamilton	5 635
Kingston	985
London	3 310
Montreal	36 500
Ottawa-Hull	9 230
Peterborough	195
Regina	2 110
Saint John	760
Sarnia	500
Saskatoon	1 640
St. John's	700
Sudbury	1 210
Sault Ste. Marie	475
Thunder Bay	930
Toronto	71 030
Vancouver	58 260
Victoria	5 315
Windsor	4 095
Winnipeg	7 305

Source: 1971 Census

Adrienne Poy Clarkson, the famous Canadian television personality.

When times are good Orientals are received with open arms. Right now there is a shortage of housing and employment so the immigrant is a convenient scapegoat.
Setty Pendakur, 1975



Famous Chinese in Canada

In recent years many Chinese Canadians have broken into a wide variety of occupational fields. Here is a short list of just a few achievements.

- 1966 — Thomas Mah became the first Chinese bank manager, Vancouver
- 1963 — George D. Wong became a governor of Simon Fraser University
- 1947 — Dr. Allan P. Chan was appointed senior horticulturalist at the Central Experimental Farm, Ottawa
- 1962 — Dr. S. Wah Leung was the first Department Head in a Canadian university when he was appointed to the Faculty of Dentistry, University of British Columbia

Chinese women such as lawyers Gretta Jean Wong and Margaret Gee, social scientist Ruth Lor and television personality Adrienne Poy Clarkson, are also representatives of a dynamic community. That community was first represented in Parliament by Douglas Jung whose first speech to the House of

Occupational Groups, 1971

	Asiatic (percentage)
Managerial, administrative and related	3.1
Natural sciences, engineering and mathematics	7.1
Social sciences and related	1.0
Religion	0.1
Teaching and related	4.7
Medicine and related	8.5
Art, literature, performing arts and related	0.9
Clerical and related	14.7
Sales	9.1
Service	16.9
Farming, horticulture and animal husbandry	2.2
Fishing, hunting, trapping and related	0.3
Forestry and logging	0.2
Mining, quarrying, including oil and gas field	0.2
Processing	3.9
Machining	2.2
Production, fabrication, assembly and repair	8.0
Construction trades	2.0
Transport-equipment operation	1.4
Material handling and related	2.0
Other crafts and equipment operation	0.8
Not stated and not elsewhere classified	10.7
Total	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, *Perspective Canada: A Compendium of Social Statistics* (Ottawa: 1974), p. 275.

Commons was a sound reminder for us all. He said, “I am aware of the tremendous responsibilities which rest upon me, not only as the first member of my race to sit in this House, but also to my constituents who have thought at all times of me only as a Canadian.”

The Jewish Community

The Jewish community in Canada numbers about 300 000. Its roots go back to approximately 1751 when the first Jewish settlement was established in Halifax. But even before this there was considerable Jewish involvement in North America. Abraham Gratis, a Jewish merchant, owned and operated most of the merchant ships sailing between France and New France. In fact, at one time Montcalm considered him as his right hand man. However, a decree of the French government dating back to 1685 prohibited Jews from settling in North America. Thus, although there was a considerable influence in Canada earlier than 1751, the major thrust of Jewish involvement began at that time.

Those who settled in Halifax were primarily merchants born of English parents originally from Germany. They were involved in importing British manufactured goods to Canada and exporting such things as potash, dried fish and timber to England and parts of the West Indies. Although the first settlement was in Nova Scotia, the first Jews to make their home permanently in Canada were those who came to Quebec in 1759 as officers and settlers with the army of General Amherst, Commander of the British forces in North America. One of the most prominent families to arrive at that time was that of Commissary Officer Aaron Hart who settled in the Trois Rivières area.



Periods of Immigration

The Jewish community in Canada remained very small until late in the nineteenth century. It only grew as a result of the waves of Jewish immigrants from eastern and central Europe, particularly from Russia, Lithuania and Poland. During the period from 1882 to approximately 1914 thousands of Jewish immigrants fleeing from pogroms (organized massacres) and persecution in Russia and Romania entered Canada. Most of those who came were destitute and saw in Canada an opportunity for a new life.

In an effort to assist these people, a number of organizations were founded. The Baron de Hirsch Institute in Montreal worked very closely with the Jewish Colonization Association in Paris, and in 1907 a Canadian committee of this organization was formed.

Through the assistance of these organizations, especially the Jewish

Colonization Association, a number of Jewish immigrants settled on farms in Western Canada. As they had not been farmers in their homeland, these people struggled with the many hardships of pioneer life on the Prairies. Many of them were unable to cope and finally had to leave the land. However a great many did survive the hardships and there are Jewish communities in Western Canada today still farming the original land of their ancestors.

The next large wave of Jewish immigrants came between 1921 and 1939. The majority were fleeing persecution in Poland. Others came in large numbers from Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia, where they were also fleeing persecution.

The immigrants who came after the Second World War were mainly Polish Jews who had survived the concentration camps. The most recent groups to arrive have been primarily from Hungary after the 1956 revolution, although some

Does a Polish gentile who leaves a Polish neighbourhood cease to be viewed as an immigrant sooner than a Polish Jew who takes precisely the same step?

Clive Beck

have also arrived from Egypt and North Africa.

A number of Jewish immigrants have settled on farms in both Eastern and Western Canada. However the vast majority found their new homes and new way of life in the towns and cities. The largest Jewish communities in Canada are found in Montreal, Toronto and Winnipeg.

The Jewish Tradition

The Jewish tradition centres on a close-knit family in which the religious values, mores, holidays, festivals and many rituals are passed on from generation to generation. Although the synagogue is of tremendous importance, the family is possibly even more important in passing down the Jewish tradition.

It is not our intent here to examine Judaism in detail. But through some examples of their ways of life, religious holidays and rituals we will see a little of the Jewish tradition in Canada.

The Covenant

The central concept of Judaism is the covenant or agreement between God and the Jewish people. This covenant between God and the people of Israel is outlined in the following passage:

Now therefore, if you will obey my voice and keep my covenant, you shall be my own possession among all peoples; for all the earth is mine, and you shall be to me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation . . .

Exod. 19:5-6

The end result of the covenant was the Ten Commandments, which God gave to Moses on Mount Sinai. It serves as the basis of this covenant.

The Holy Bible

The term "Bible" comes from the Greek word meaning books. Both the Jews and the Christians use the term Holy Bible to refer to their sacred books. Originally these writings were written on skin or parchment and made up of individual scrolls. There are many ancient copies of the Hebrew Bible. These scrolls are often referred to as "manuscripts." It was initially thought that the oldest manuscript dated from the ninth century but the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947 in the caves beside the Dead Sea disclosed manuscripts that dated as far back as the second century BC.

The common language in the days of the ancient Israelites was Hebrew. As a result the Hebrew Bible or the Old Testament, as we commonly refer to it, was written in Hebrew (except for a small portion in Daniel, Ezra and Nehemiah). Although the Hebrew Bible and the Christian Old Testament are the same, they are arranged differently. The Hebrew Bible is divided into three groups: The Law (Torah), which consists of five books: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy; the Prophets, which consists of eight books including Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and approximately twelve other relatively minor prophets; and the Writings, consisting of eleven books.

The Torah

By far the most important is the Torah. It is in the books of the Torah that we find the basis of Judaism. In order to understand the key concepts of Judaism, as in any other religion, we must have some understanding of their view of God, the universe and man.

The God of Judaism is One. There is no other God beside Him. It was He who created heaven and earth. This is noted in the very first words of the Torah. "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth, . . ." For a Jew there is no question whether or not God exists. Judaism starts with the assumption that *God is*.

The Torah portrays God as a personal God, personal in the sense that He is involved and directs the everyday life of every man. On the other hand He is portrayed as a jealous God. Out of all this comes a basic conclusion of Judaism; those who love God and heed His commandments will benefit from His love, mercy and grace. On the other hand, those who disobey will receive His anger and justice.

The Torah suggests that God was the Creator. Everything that has come into being is a result of God's will. This is evident in the commands "Let there be, . . . and there was." It was out of these commands that the sun, moon and all heavenly bodies came into being. And it was through His last act of creation that God created man "in His own image." It is out of these two concepts that Judaism develops its view of man. Since man was created in God's image, he must be aware of this fact and realize he has a unique relationship to God. In addition, since man was created in God's image, it is expected that man will show God's two attributes — justice and mercy. Therefore since God is just and merciful, man who was created in God's image must also be just and merciful.

The Torah never suggests that a Jew should live apart from his fellow man. Judaism outlined in great detail how people ought to live in

Judaic Ethics

The following excerpts from the Torah give some indication of the ethics by which a Jew is expected to live.

You shall not steal.

You shall not bear false witness against your neighbour.

You shall not covet your neighbour's house: you shall not covet your neighbour's wife, or his male or female slave, or his ox or his ass, or anything that is your neighbour's.

(Exodus 20: 13, 14)

You shall not hate your kinsman in your heart. Reprove your neighbour, but incur no guilt because of him. You shall not take vengeance or bear a grudge against your kinsfolk. Love your neighbour as yourself: I am the Lord.

(Leviticus 19: 17, 18)

When a stranger resides with you in your land, you shall not wrong him. The stranger who resides with you shall be to you as one of your citizens; you shall love him as yourself, for you were strangers in the land of Egypt: I the Lord am your God.

(Leviticus 19: 33, 34)

The Lord spoke to Moses, saying:

When a person sins and commits a trespass against the Lord by dealing deceitfully with his fellow in the matter of a deposit or an investment, or through robbery; or if he has intimidated his fellow; or if he has found something lost and lied about it and sworn falsely — any one of the various things that one may do and sin thereby — when one has thus sinned and, realising his guilt, would restore that which he got through robbery or intimidation, or the deposit that was entrusted to him, or the lost thing that he found, or anything about which he swore falsely, he shall repay the principal amount and add a fifth part to it. He shall pay it to its owner when he realizes his guilt.

(Leviticus 5: 20-24)

You shall appoint magistrates and clerks for your tribes, in all the settlements that the Lord your God is giving you, and they shall govern the people with due justice. You shall not judge unfairly; you shall show no partiality; you shall not take bribes, for bribes blind the eyes of the discerning, and upset the plea of the just. Justice, justice shall you pursue, that you may thrive and occupy the land that the Lord your God is giving you.

(Deuteronomy 16: 18-20)

To do righteousness and justice is more acceptable to the Lord than sacrifice.
Prov. 21: 3

He who oppresses a poor man insults his Maker, but he who is kind to the needy honours him.

Prov. 14: 31

If a man returns evil for good, evil will not depart from his house.

Prov. 17: 13

If your enemy is hungry, give him bread to eat; and if he is thirsty, give him water to drink; for you will heap coals of fire on his head, and the Lord will reward you.

Prov. 25: 21-22

Hear, O Israel! The Lord is our God, the Lord alone. You must love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your might.

Deut. 6: 4, 5

Laws given in the Torah.

The Torah combined with the Talmud basically outlines the Judaic way of life.

Key Events in Jewish History

Diaspora

As indicated earlier, many Jews immigrated to Canada because of prejudice, discrimination and persecution. Persecution is a part of the Jewish history that dates back to 17 AD. At that time the Romans destroyed the temple in Jerusalem and the Jews were expelled from their homelands. This is referred to as the Diaspora or dispersal. Since then all Jews have longed to return to the Jewish homeland. This longing for their homeland has become part of the Jewish tradition and the conclusion of both the Feast of the Passover and Yom Kippur is a prayer expressing the wish that the next feast

this world. It stresses that man must govern his life by a series of moral codes. The three key concepts of the Judaic moral code are good deeds, enjoyment of living, and love of fellow man. These three concepts are clearly embodied in the Torah and continue to be expressed in contemporary Judaism.

The Talmud

By the time the Hebrew Bible had been completed and assembled, certain changes had taken place within Judaism. As a result of these changes there were certain oral interpretations and traditions concerning many of the written Laws. Although Judaism has remained committed to the Torah, equal respect

has been given to these traditions.

After several centuries these oral traditions were gradually recorded and organized in a collection of Oral Law. This Oral Law known as Mishnah was written in Hebrew. However, later Jews spoke and taught Aramaic instead of Hebrew. Because of this change from one language to another it was necessary to have certain explanations of the Mishnah. The result was a commentary known as the Gemarah. The Mishnah combined with the Gemarah total some 40 volumes and are jointly known as the Talmud. The Talmud in many ways outlines or expands the regulations for the various observances and

No Christian can stand by the Jewish survivors of the holocaust and wish the death of Jerusalem.

Emil L. Fackenheim

may be celebrated in the Jewish homeland.

Prejudice against groups tends to arise when people have different traditions, dress and ways of life from the rest of society. Because of these things, Jews have experienced prejudice and discrimination wherever they have lived in the world. They have often been forced to live in restricted areas. They have been beaten, mistreated and viewed with suspicion whenever they accumulated any degree of wealth. Despite the fact that the majority of Jews were not wealthy people but poor craftsmen and impoverished peddlers, they have often been accused of gaining wealth at the expense of the rest of the community.

But this prejudice and discrimination was nothing compared to the treatment that they received from 1933-1945.

The Holocaust

The term "Holocaust" is used to describe the systematic destruction of six million Jews during the Nazi regime in Germany and Europe between 1933 and 1945. It was during this period that Hitler put forward the philosophy that the Germans were the "Master Race." He blamed the economic ills of Germany and the rest of Europe on the Jewish community. The stories of concentration camps and inhuman treatment, torture and ultimate murders in the gas chambers horrified the whole world.

As a result of the Diaspora Jews around the world have always longed for a return to their homeland, but the tragedies of the Holocaust gave far greater urgency to this desire.

Zionism

The Zionist movement was basically a call for the creation of a national homeland for Jews in Israel. It was founded towards the end of the nineteenth century by an Austrian, Theodore Herzl. Zionist organizations were formed in various countries around the world, with Canada's first Zionist organization being founded in 1892.

A major step towards the achievement of this goal came in 1917 with the Balfour Declaration which stated, "His Majesty's Government viewed with favour the establishment of a national home for the Jewish People." But the situation was complicated by a similar promise to the Arabs that at some point in the future they would also receive their independence.

When much of the former Turkish Empire was placed under the control of Britain at the end of World War I, a basically impossible situation was established. Both the Arabs and the Jews expected that territory would be granted to them and that they would soon gain their independence. It is out of this basic conflict that much of the present tensions in the Middle East come.

The subsequent struggle for the Jews to gain their homeland is a history of defeats, perseverance and final accomplishments. It is both a story of people realizing a dream and a story of the complications of international politics. It is a history that would be worth your reading on both these accounts. However, it is sufficient to say here that the State of Israel was established in 1948 under the sponsorship of the United Nations.

For Jews not only in Israel but around the world, the struggle is not over. The present conflicts in the

**We
are one**



**United Jewish Appeal
Israel Special Fund**

Middle East are basically a result of the Holocaust. "Never again will we allow ourselves to be open to our enemies."

The incredible accomplishments of the small nation of Israel in such a short period of time is not only a tribute to the Jews in the homeland but to Jews throughout the world, including Canadian Jews. The Jewish community in Canada feels a strong sense of religious and cultural ties with and commitment to Israel.

Way of Life

The expectations of the Torah go beyond just the ethical relationships among men. There are laws governing nearly every aspect of life. They include washing, eating and dressing, all of which have a religious significance. For example, it is expected that at times a Jew must fast and on a number of occasions each person must examine his or her own conscience in relation to the various laws.

This may seem strange in comparison to the normal twentieth-century way of life. But for the Jew, particularly an Orthodox Jew, it is how he or she must live in order to meet the expectations of the covenant.

Practices and Institutions

Sabbath

A very important part of the Judaic tradition is the sanctity of the Sabbath. God rested from His work of creation on the seventh day and Jews, therefore, reserve the Sabbath (Saturday) as a Holy day. It is to be a day of rest and no work is to be done on that day. The day is considered to be between one sunset and the next. In other words, the Sabbath begins at dusk on Friday and lasts until dusk on Saturday. The Sabbath begins with the mother of the house saying a blessing over lighted candles. After this the father takes a cup of wine and gives a blessing over it before everyone else takes a sip. Then the Sabbath loaf is sliced and shared. This is usually followed by an evening meal. Although the Sabbath is far from being the only Holy day it is still observed with great reverence each week.

Schools

Two institutions of importance in the Jewish community are the Jewish daycare centres and Jewish day schools. They are frequently directly associated with a particular synagogue. The Hebrew day school follows the same curriculum as the public school system. However, in addition to the regular academic subjects, the students work on



Hebrew, religious and cultural studies.

Those Jewish children who do not attend a Hebrew day school attend religious school in the evenings or after their regular school. There they learn to read and write Hebrew as well as the prayers, traditions and practices of their religion. In addition they study Hebrew literature and folk songs as part of their cultural studies.

Bar Mitzvah

The term "Bar Mitzvah" basically means "son of duty." On his thirteenth birthday a Jewish boy may become a Bar Mitzvah and therefore, as a man, becomes responsible for his own actions and for performing the necessary tasks and

rituals of an adult male.

Becoming a Bar Mitzvah is not an automatic thing. One is required to be able to read, write and speak Hebrew fluently as well as memorize extensive passages from the Judaic writings.

On the Sabbath before his thirteenth birthday, a boy participates in one part of the service. It is an experience that the whole family and congregation view with pride. After the ceremony a large, elaborate party and gifts are usually given to honour the new Bar Mitzvah.

Circumcision

One of the most ancient Jewish rituals, which remains till the present day, is that of circumcision. This ritual was ordained by God and was a religious duty first assigned to the patriarch, Abraham, as a token of the fulfillment of the Covenant. "This is my Covenant, which you shall keep, . . . every male among you shall be circumcised . . . he that is eight days old among you shall be circumcised" (Genesis 17: 10-12).

Pesach (Passover)

Throughout the year a number of ceremonial days are observed that recall significant events in the history of Judaism. One of the most important is the Pesach which commemorates the exodus from Egypt under the leadership of Moses. The meal involved in the passover resembles the Lord's Supper observed by the Christian community.

Rosh Hashanah (New Year)

Depending on the variations in the Jewish calendar, the Jewish New Year, Rosh Hashanah, falls in late September to early October. It begins a period of ten penitential days. Jews believe that it is during this period that God judges mankind. It is a time in which each person is expected to repent for his or her misdeeds and to begin to examine his or her own conscience. The types of preparation involved during this time are very similar to those for the Sabbath.

Yom Kippur (The Day of Atonement)

Ten days after Rosh Hashanah comes the day of atonement, known as Yom Kippur. It is the most solemn Holy day in the entire Jewish calendar. On Yom Kippur all male adult Jews fast from sundown to sundown. It is a day of confession when each Jew confesses his sins of the previous year. It is not uncommon for a Jewish family to spend the whole day at the synagogue.

There are a number of other special Jewish Holy days such as the Succot (five days after Yom Kippur), Shabuoth (pentecost) an ancient agricultural festival, and Hanukah, the feast of the lights. This festival lasts for eight days in December. It commemorates the struggle for religious freedom against the Syrians in 168 BC.

Each of these holidays contributes in a very special way to the Jewish tradition. The Holy days, combined with the rituals of birth, marriage and death, bind Jews together not only in the twentieth century but to the previous generations who have contributed to the Jewish tradition and identity.

Kashruth

A very important ritual is the Kashruth dietary laws. You may have heard the term "Kosher" used in relation to Jewish dietary laws. It refers to the accepted practice laid down in the Torah. The many references to forbidden foods and forbidden combinations of foods are found primarily in Leviticus 11:146; 17:10-14; and Deuteronomy 14:21.

Some examples of the dietary laws are that Jews are only per-

mitted to eat the meat from those animals with split hooves that chew their cud. That is why, for example, the Jews are not permitted to eat pork of any kind. Creatures of the sea without fins and scales are also forbidden.

In addition, there are specific ways in which animals must be slaughtered. A person called a Shochete is appointed to slaughter the animals. Any slaughterhouse wishing to sell meat to the Jewish community hires a Shochete. In stores specializing in Jewish foods, you will often see a stamp on packages of meat indicating that the processing was under the supervision of proper Jewish authorities.

Different Elements within Judaism

The way of life for all Jews is not exactly the same. There are three basic elements of Judaism; Orthodox, Conservative and Reform. The various denominations within the Christian religion are primarily based on differences in theology. However, it is not really the same in Judaism. Whether a person considers himself Orthodox, Conservative or Reform depends on how he perceives the Jewish way of life rather than on different interpretations of beliefs.

Orthodox Judaism

Orthodox Jews believe that in order to be an authentic Jew one must adhere strictly to the faith. This means a strict adherence to the laws of the Torah and a careful study of the Law of Moses, outlined in the Torah, as well as those outlined in the Talmud.



For example, an Orthodox Jew would follow in every detail such things as the dietary laws. The males must have their heads covered at all times, and men and women are separated in the synagogues. They pray three times each day and observe the Sabbath strictly.

This does not imply that an Orthodox Jew cannot play a role in society as a whole. As we have already seen, the Torah indicates very clearly that there is a Judaic ethic that must be followed in relation to one's fellow man. The idea of being totally separate from the rest of the world is not a part of Orthodox Judaism. However, what it does mean is that an Orthodox Jew does not make his religion fit the society but rather lives in that society within the context of the Laws.

Conservative Judaism

Conservative Jews also maintain the traditions of their faith and the ways of life outlined in the Torah, but they also believe that the Jewish Law is constantly being interpreted and developed by the Rabbi. Therefore, certain changes in the Law are accepted as long as they are within the context of the Judaical Laws. For example, in many Conservative Jewish Synagogues the language of the country may be used rather than the Hebrew that would always be used in the Orthodox Synagogue.

Reform Judaism

A third group, which is relatively new in the history of Judaism, is the Reform Jews. It began in Germany in the nineteenth century and has since spread to North America where it gained its largest following. Although Reform Jews accept the basic traditions of the faith, their observances have changed significant-

ly. For example, Reform Jews drive their cars and cook on the Sabbath, whereas Orthodox and Conservative Jews would not because it would be considered work. Musical instruments or organs have been introduced in a number of Reform churches. They feel that music of this nature adds to the inspiration of the service.

Another significant change is that confirmation services have been introduced for Jewish girls to parallel the Bar Mitzvah of the Jewish boy. It was argued that the girls should have the same opportunity as the boys to take part in their faith. Other changes include such things as worshippers not having to cover their heads and men, women and children sitting together throughout the service.

The Reconstructionists

A North American phenomenon of Judaism is the movement known as the Reconstructionists. This group basically attempts to establish Judaism on a less supernatural approach. Such things as poetry, readings from contemporary authors and folk songs have been introduced to their services.

In taking such an approach, there has been an obvious effort to appeal to the younger generations in the congregation.

The Jewish Sense of Community

The same closeness that pervades Jewish family life spills over to create a strong sense of Jewish community. From the time of the earliest immigrants, the Jewish community has worked to help all its members spiritually and economically. It has also united and taken a stand against anti-Semitism and to

Mr. Fischel Cooper's youth group in High Park, Toronto, 1935.



promote a feeling of understanding and goodwill with all ethnic and religious groups in Canada.

The Jewish Colonization Association of Canada was founded in 1907 to assist new immigrants who arrived in Canada. Its primary function was to help Jewish farmers with loans, training and general assistance in settling on farms in Canada. It also worked closely with Jewish organizations in Europe in bringing out trained and experienced Jewish farmers. During its first 25 years of operation it helped over 50 000 new Jewish immigrants establish themselves in Canada.

But much of the assistance provided to the needy was much less formal. The early Jewish immigrants themselves formed small clubs, lodges and committees within the synagogue to deal with sudden problems of illness or death. Since most of the families were very poor, if the breadwinner fell ill or died the rest of the family was often left destitute. By pooling funds the club, lodge or synagogue could often help with doctors' bills and burial expenses.

The Jewish Immigrant Aid Ser-

vices of Canada is the national Jewish agency for helping Jewish immigrants to Canada. It was founded in 1920 as a typical immigrant aid society. It assists people when they arrive in Canada to find accommodation, employment and financial aid when necessary. It has served thousands of earlier immigrants and continues to be an effective organization today.

The National Council of Jewish Women is a very active body, particularly in social work. A recent example of their work is their community action for assisting Soviet Jews in adapting to life in Canada. They held crash courses dealing with the complexities of Canadian life. Once a week between 50 and 75 Soviet Jews met for a series of formal lectures and social gatherings.

There are Jewish community programs in nearly every Canadian city. In some cases they are handled solely within the Jewish community but others are a joint appeal with other community organizations.

An international institution that has branches firmly established

here in Canada is the B'nai B'rith lodges. These lodges exist in most Jewish-Canadian communities today. The philanthropic, educational and welfare work done by the various lodges and the institution as a whole is widely known and respected.

The Canadian Jewish Congress is the recognized representative body of Canadian Jewry today. It consists of delegates elected from all Jewish communities across the country. Its purpose is to safeguard the status and rights of Jews in Canada as well as cooperating and extending goodwill to other ethnic, religious and community groups. It is also deeply involved in the cause of Jewish suffering throughout the world and in assisting Jewish refugees.

As you can see from even this brief analysis of the various Jewish organizations both past and present, there is a very strong sense of Jewish community in Canada today.

Population by City of People of Jewish Origin

Calgary	3 275
Edmonton	2 475
Halifax	1 320
Hamilton	4 115
Kingston	550
London	1 565
Montreal	109 485
Ottawa-Hull	6 380
Peterborough	170
Regina	795
Saint John	320
Sarnia	185
Saskatoon	490
St. John's	150
Sudbury	245
Sault Ste. Marie	120
Thunder Bay	150
Toronto	103 735
Vancouver	8 940
Victoria	315
Windsor	2 425
Winnipeg	18 315

Source: 1971 Census

Delegates to the first Canadian Jewish Congress, Montreal, 1919.

Stephen Lewis, NDP leader of the Opposition in the Ontario Legislature.



Occupational Groups, 1971

	Jewish (percentage)
Managerial, administrative and related	10.7
Natural sciences, engineering and mathematics	2.6
Social sciences and related	3.3
Religion	0.2
Teaching and related	5.2
Medicine and related	4.9
Art, literature, performing arts and related	2.1
Clerical and related	18.8
Sales	24.2
Service	4.9
Farming, horticulture and animal husbandry	0.4
Fishing, hunting, trapping and related	- -
Forestry and logging	- -
Mining, quarrying, including oil and gas field	- -
Processing	1.4
Machining	0.6
Production, fabrication, assembly and repair	6.4
Construction trades	1.7
Transport-equipment operation	1.7
Material handling and related	0.8
Other crafts and equipment operation	0.6
Not stated and not elsewhere classified	9.5
Total	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, *Perspective Canada: A Compendium of Social Statistics* (Ottawa: 1974), p. 275.

enter the professions. Some of our most outstanding figures in the medical, legal, educational and entertainment fields in Canada are Jewish Canadians. To attempt to outline the significant figures in each of these professions is impossible, but the chart will give some idea of how many Jewish Canadians have contributed to a wide variety of activities in Canada.

Conclusion

From our study of Jewish traditions, immigration to Canada, daily life and contributions to Canadian society, it can be seen that the Jews as a religious and cultural group have contributed much to Canadian society. Although they have a clear bond with Jews throughout the world, there is also a great pride in Canadian Jewry. You could gain a greater understanding of the Jewish community by talking to Jewish classmates or visiting a Jewish synagogue in your community.

Contributions to Canadian Society

In nearly every field of endeavour Jewish Canadians have made significant contributions. There is a definite tendency, however, for Jews to

Some Famous Canadian Jews

Public Life

William Hyman	First Jewish Mayor (Cap des Rosiers, Quebec)
Nathan Phillips	Former Mayor of Toronto
Philip Givens	Former Mayor of Toronto
Hon. David Croll	Senator
David Lewis	Former national leader of the New Democratic Party
Stephen Lewis	Leader of the Ontario New Democratic Party

Music

Walter Susskind	Founder of National Youth Orchestra; formerly conductor of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra
Victor Feldbrill	Conductor
The Adashin brothers	Murray, conductor; John, cellist; and Harry, music professor
John Weinzweig	Composer and professor of music
Irving Glick	Conductor
Moe Kaufman	Instrumentalist
Teddy Roderman	Instrumentalist

Business and Commerce

Sigmund Samuel	Industrialist and philanthropist
Louis Rasminsky	Former governor of the Bank of Canada
Steinbergs of Montreal	Supermarket chain
David Dunkelman	Tip Top Tailors
Leon Koerner	Businessman, British Columbia plywood industry
Samuel Bronfman	President of Distillers' Corporation — Seagrams; well-known philanthropist and public benefactor

Entertainment

Wayne and Shuster	Comedians
Larry Solway	Television and radio personality
Percy Saltzman	Television and radio personality
Lorne Greene	Actor
Louis Applebaum	Composer of background music for films, radio and television
William Shatner	Actor

Architects and Artists

Cecil Blankstein	Designed the National Gallery, Ottawa
Fred Lebensold	Member of firm designing Place Ville Marie, Montreal
Anne Kahane	Wood carver and semi-abstract sculptor
Sorel Etrog	Sculptor
Louis Muklstock	Artist

Literature

Abraham Klein	Poet
Leonard Cohen	Poet
Irving Layton	Poet
Miriam Waddington	Poet
Mordecai Richler	Novelist
Adele Wiseman	Novelist
Jack Ludwig	Novelist
William Weintraub	Novelist
J.C. Newman	Novelist

The Blacks

In the preface to his excellent book, *The Blacks in Canada*, Robin Winks points out that,

Negroes have lived in Canada for nearly as long as in the present United States. In 1628, nine years after a Dutch ship unloaded the first cargo of Africans at Jamestown, David Kirke, the so-called English Conqueror of Quebec, brought a slave boy to the French shores, and Negroes were present in New France and in British North America thereafter. Those who were slaves gained their freedom in 1834, in common with all in the British empire. The black population grew in numbers and sometimes in strength during the next two decades as a result of a substantial influx of fugitives from the United States. Yet other migrations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries brought other black men to Canada. The story of these men — settlers and transients — has never been told in any reasonably full way.

In the next few pages we will try to highlight a few of the important points on Canada's black population.

Slavery in New France

Slavery was not unknown in Canada from the earliest times. In 1501 a Portuguese explorer enslaved about 50 native Canadian men and women while ashore in Newfoundland. By the early 1600s black slaves had begun to be imported for domestic and other labour. However, it was not until 1689 that legal authority was granted for a slave trade to be developed. In that year King Louis XIV of France gave his assent to a

I remember as a child my parents and
the older slaves speak of Canada with
such tenderness and faith I thought
it an invisible ideal
Booker T. Washington

Wanted to purchase a negro girl from 7
to 12, of good disposition; W.J. Crooks,
Classified advertisement,
St. Catharines Journal,
October 4, 1795

Slaves in New France	Negroes	Indians
Percentage in towns as domestic servants	94.1	69.9
Percentage in rural areas (miners, field hands)	5.9	30.1
Average age at death	25.2 years	17.7 years

request from the Marquis de Denonville, the Intendant of New France, to import slaves in large numbers. The Intendant was concerned that there were too few workers to keep the colony economically prosperous: "Workers and servants are so rare and expensive," he said, "...as to ruin all those who attempt to be enterprising. We believe that the best means to remedy this is to have Negro slaves here." The number of slaves needed was limited, however, by the declaration in 1704 that the colony was not to compete for industry and commerce with France itself. The government of France believed that the colony should exist only to supply France with raw materials. All efforts to build a growing and prosperous society in North America were discouraged. Nevertheless, slavery persisted and grew slowly. The blacks were used as domestic servants and farm hands by the wealthier families.

Local records indicate that both Negroes and Indians were slaves in New France. By 1759, there were 1132 Negro slaves and 2472 native people (mainly from the Pawnee tribe).

Slavery and the Loyalists

There was some confusion about the proper status of slaves brought to Canada by the United Empire Loyalists after the American Revolution. Approximately 3000 Negroes were admitted to Nova Scotia and were classified as free. However,

most blacks who were brought into Quebec were defined as slaves. No Loyalist settlement was completely without slavery.

The Fugitive Slaves

After the abolition of slavery in 1834, Canada became an attractive end to the "underground railroad" that brought escaped slaves north to freedom. It is impossible to tell how many fugitive slaves actually came to Canada in the years before the American Civil War (1861-1865), but many thousands arrived in British North America. Various reports suggest that by 1854 between 1000 and 2000 came to Hamilton, 1500 to Chatham, 1000 to Toronto, 700 to St. Catharines and as many as 4000 on the Detroit frontier.

Canada, in fact, was considered by many Americans to be the base for anti-slavery intrigue. Canadians were frequently denounced as people intent upon subverting the American way of life. To prove their case, they pointed out that John Brown, the American abolitionist who conducted raids against slave owners throughout the United States, had held meetings in Chatham, Ontario in May, 1858. That meeting, it was alleged, led directly to Brown's attack on Harper's Ferry, Virginia about 18 months later. Virginia Governor Henry A. Wise stated flatly that John Brown, American abolitionists and Canadians were joined in a "compact of fanaticism and intolerance" that was born on British soil and had

A Black Loyalist

The Petition of Richard Pierpoint, now of the Town of Niagara, a Man of Colour, a native of Africa, and an inhabitant of this Province since the year 1780.

Most humbly sheweth,

That Your Excellency's Petitioner is a native of Bondu in Africa; that at the age of Sixteen Years he was made a Prisoner and sold as a Slave; that he was conveyed to America about the year 1760, and sold to a British officer; that he served his Majesty during the American Revolutionary War in the Corps called Butler's Rangers; and again during the late American War in a Corps of Colour raised on the Niagara Frontier.

That Your Excellency's Petitioner is now old and without property; that he finds it difficult to obtain a livelihood by his labour; that he is above all things desirous to return to his native Country; that His Majesty's Government be graciously pleased to grant him any relief, he wishes it may be by affording him the means to proceed to England and from thence to a Settlement near the Gambia or Senegal Rivers, from whence he could return to Bondu.

York, Upper Canada,
21st July, 1821

resulted in a "vile, sensuous, animal, brutal, infidel, superstitious Democracy of Canada and the Yankees."

Canada and the Civil War

Unfortunately, those who see Canada as a great haven of anti-slavery sentiment are only partly correct. As one observer suggested, many Canadians rejoiced in the fact that Canada West (Ontario) "was the home of Uncle Tom, of the Chatham Convention, and of perhaps 60 000 fugitive slaves." Indeed, many Canadians were proud "that slaveholders hated no country in the world as much as Canada."

However, it must also be remem-

O master and mistress, don't come
after me,
For I cannot be a slave any more.
I am under British laws, I'm beneath
the lion's paws,
And he'll growl if you come near the
shore.

Anonymous

bered that when the American Civil War broke out Britain was not enthusiastic about supporting the free side. The Confederacy provided Britain with much of the cotton it needed for its textile mills. Thus, while England did not support either side, it refused to stop trading with the South and often appeared ready to join in the war if English ships were prevented from doing business with the Confederacy. Southern soldiers also found Canada a useful place from which to attack the North. They used Quebec as a base from which to attack the town of St. Alban's, Vermont and then to retreat to after the raid.

Prejudice and Pride

In the century after the American Civil War, blacks in Canada have suffered from intolerance and discrimination. The former slaves have been joined by people from the Caribbean area and both have been subjected to rebukes. As early as 1910 a Royal Commission inquiring into trade relations with the Caribbean and the possibility of closer political ties rejected the idea of a union of Canada with British colonies in the Caribbean on the grounds that "an influx of . . . diversified tinges of Negro, Spanish, French and British [blood] in greater or lesser degree into our Parliament would not be either acceptable or advantageous."

Harry Gairey

by Kay Livingstone

"The black man, immigrant or native, was considered the low man on the totem pole," recalls 74-year-old Harry Gairey of his first years in Ontario. He is thinking of the World War I years and the 1920s.

Born in Jamaica, he came to Canada in 1916 from Cuba where his parents had moved when he was five, in search of a better life. The young Harry was a skilled cigar wrapper when he arrived in Ontario, but the eager, soft-spoken black youngster could not get a job of any kind, except as a "boot black." Then he discovered the one standard opening, railway menial jobs. So began the long career "on the road." He started as a dishwasher on the Grand Trunk line between Montreal and Windsor, earning \$30 a month.

In his quiet way Mr. Gairey recalls becoming a porter. "I hated it at first. The hours were long, the pay was poor, the many days away from your family. On my first trip out to the coast I was so tired at the end I couldn't even keep a proper count of my linen. But when I realized this was the only job this country was going to offer me, I decided to be the best porter I could."

Advancement was non-existent. "It was a one-way street kind of job. You joined as a porter and 50 years later you were still a porter, no matter what your qualifications or educational background. You couldn't be a news agent, a waiter, a cook and certainly not a conductor."

Mr. Gairey did break away from the railroad but circumstances forced him back more than once. He took pleasure in cooking and wanted to have his own business. And so, at the age of 21, he opened a restaurant on Toronto's Duncan Street. After two years he joined with a friend and opened a larger restaurant on Queen Street that could seat 100 people. But after seven years he had to close and go back "on the road."

He has many memories of the black men who "ran on the road" with him. Most had other skills but the climate of discrimination meant that they had no opportunity to use them. Eventually they were able, by dint of hard work, to buy their home and secure a good education for their children. But that was long after the Depression. Mr. Gairey has a vivid expression, "The Depression linked arms with my family." He recalls the long travail. "Those were hard times. I was out of work for four years. It nearly killed me when I had to go on relief. First we spent all our savings; our son was only two years old. I walked the streets of Toronto for months but I couldn't even beg a job. I was foolish, too proud to go on relief. But finally I had to."

Some months later he got a job as a porter with the CPR. When World War II broke out the situation of porters began to change. There was a manpower shortage as both white and black Canadians went off to war and porters' jobs became integrated. Even then, "white men with little experience were placed ahead of us who had years on the road."

But with the 1950s came new legislation against discrimination in employment. About the same time Mr. Gairey became an instructor of new porters.

During the years on the road, his interest in business took another form, joint investments. "On the train going to Ottawa, at ten o'clock one night, ten of us started the idea of depositing five dollars each pay-day, banking the money and thus forming an investment group." It took three months to find the men who would sacrifice immediate use of the money. The Community

For the first time, blacks in Canadian cities feel that their ethnic tradition may be respectably maintained and incorporated into the fabric of the Canadian way of life.

Vincent D'Oyley

Trading Company was formed and was later made a limited company. It concentrated on real estate investments, in Toronto and outside, and obtained a decent return.

Mr. Gairey assesses himself as an investor. "I can organize and make suggestions but I become too sympathetic. You have to be cruel and ruthless."

His own instinct for making things better for everyone led him into community work. He was one of a group who, in the early 1950s, came together one Sunday afternoon and formed the Negro Citizenship Committee. Their point of departure was their perception that post-war immigration to Canada was overwhelmingly white. "Black immigrants were barred. Yet you saw many immigrants from countries that had been at war with Canada and they were getting jobs." The Committee's primary aim was to petition the Canadian government to revise its immigration policy. They knew little about preparing a brief but they found knowledgeable people, particularly Mrs. Donna Hill, to help them and a delegation called on the Minister of Immigration.

Similar petitions from other groups all combined to help bring a change in Canada's immigration policy.

When Mr. Gairey left the railroad in the late 1950s he returned to the restaurant business and his unplanned and unpaid career in community work continued. It now grew around a restaurant which he opened with friends, called the WIFF Club. At its location on Brunswick Avenue it became well known over the next 13 years, until destroyed by fire. "We didn't make a great deal of money but the Club became the headquarters for the

lonely West Indian immigrant."

Governmental and voluntary services were barely beginning, there were no special information agencies for immigrants, and Mr. Gairey and his associates filled the gap.

Many young women were coming to Canada as domestic help, which was the only way many could enter the country. On the traditional Thursday off they would meet one another at the WIFF Club, where they felt at home and where they discussed their problems. "They used to take over the place on Thursdays, as many as 30 or 40. They would cook. I learned how to cook many traditional West Indian dishes from them."

Immigrants received assistance in obtaining an extension of their visitor's permit or landed immigrant status or an emergency loan. "We knew how hard it was to get into this country, we knew that these people had problems and that someone had to help them. The black churches also helped as much as they could. It was a time when you often heard the word 'nigger.' Later the United Negro Improvement Association hall was opened and became another meeting place."

Mr. Gairey was also one of a group who took advantage of the Fair Employment Practices Act to work for the acceptance of black nurses in Ontario hospitals. "After many months of negotiation we were able to get the first West Indian professional nurse employed. It was at the old Mount Sinai Hospital on Yorkville Street." Today a large fraction of every hospital's nursing staff is black.

After the WIFF club closed, Mr. Gairey and new partners opened a new restaurant on downtown Yonge Street. The Soul Palace Restaurant

is now one more strand in Toronto's rich multicultural social fabric.

Mr. Gairey's most recent community activity was the Black Culture Camp for Canadian, West Indian and African children. He gave up a summer to be the cook for the camp. But he was much more. Besides cooking, alone, for nearly 100 children he was a grandfather figure for them. They related easily to him, showed him the craft articles they had made and the letters they were writing home. He always took time to admire and to encourage them.

Looking back on it all now, Harry Gairey still affirms, "I believe in the brotherhood of man. I love Canada. I never regretted coming here. I think it's one of the greatest countries in the world, in spite of the fact that we had to fight to be heard."

The Ontario black community appreciates Harry Gairey as much as he appreciates Canada. In 1973 he was given a community award by the National Black Coalition for his pioneering work on the race relations frontier.

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The West Indians

The black population of Canada is now largely made up of recent immigrants from the West Indies. The first major waves of immigration from the islands of the Caribbean began shortly after the end of World War II. By 1955, about 6000 immigrants had arrived in Canada. Between 1955 and 1965, the number of immigrants increased to 16 463 and similar increases have taken place since.

Canada's new citizens of West Indian background come from many

different places and reflect the diversity of the Caribbean people. There are people who originally came from the East Indies, people of Chinese ancestry and Caucasians as well as the predominantly Negro population. These people are drawn from a variety of religious and cultural backgrounds. The islands from which they come differ greatly in their historical development. The major groups are from Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Grenada, Barbados and the Bahamas as well as from Guyana on the north shore of South America.

Occupations

Most West Indians have moved directly to Montreal or Toronto, although some have chosen places as far afield as British Columbia, Nova Scotia and even the high Arctic regions. The West Indians have also found themselves jobs in a wide variety of occupations. Many of them have become professionals or semi-professionals, such as doctors, nurses and teachers at all levels of education. In fact, many immigrants are so well trained that a Canadian government document reported that "more than one visiting West Indian official has remarked wistfully that there would seem to be enough West Indian doctors and nurses to staff his own island's public health service." Studies of immigrants have shown that, excluding students, about 25 percent of the people arriving from the Caribbean countries were professionals and another 55 percent were suitable for other white-collar jobs. In contrast, only about 14 percent came with skills in manufacturing and mechanical trades.

In addition to this highly educated group, there are many other work-



ers from the Caribbean to be considered. In 1955 an agreement was made between Canada and the West Indies to start a program to bring domestic service workers to Canada. That year, young women, provided they were single and between 21 and 35 years old, were brought to Canada and given landed immigrant status. In return, they pledged that they would work as domestic servants for at least one year. An annual quota of approximately 250 women were recruited through the program. In 1966, the quota was increased and several thousand West Indian women have come to Canada to date. Many of these women remain in domestic service only for the mandatory year and then seek jobs in other fields. Many attend night classes in colleges of various kinds and are successful in getting better employment.

West Indian Organizations

The style and pace of life in Canada is very different from that of the Caribbean islands. Many West Indians have tried to overcome their loneliness and isolation in Canada

by forming a wide variety of social and cultural associations. Through their many clubs, they keep in touch with developments in the Caribbean and keep up a lively interest in political and cultural affairs.

The practical purpose of such organizations is to help West Indians to adjust to Canadian society and, at the same time, to bring other Canadians into closer contact with the customs and arts of the Caribbean. The strength of such organizations as the Jamaica-Canadian Association and the Trinidad and Tobago Association is reflected in the popular dances, concerts and folk festivals they have encouraged.

Oscar Peterson — A Giant in Jazz

In the search for a Canadian identity many people have looked for typically Canadian musical and art forms. Some people identify the music of Stompin' Tom Connors as uniquely Canadian. Others look to the commercially successful folk music of Ian Tyson and Sylvia Fricker. Still others examine the great song writers and singers of Quebec. We have seldom been satisfied, and we have often asked the question, what is Canadian music? The response is usually; "an imitation of American music."

Commenting on this search for a Canadian identity, Canadian artist, Gene Lees, made the following observation:

We all know where the Canadian Syndrome originates. The problem is not unlike that of the black in the United States. For years they believed that all brave and beautiful people were white, and probably blond, because the movies told them so. We grew up in the belief that all glamorous and talented people were Ameri-



cans . . . Lacking idols of our own, we assumed that anything Canadian couldn't be good. Oscar Peterson, when I first heard him, played well "for a Canadian." Years later, . . . I realized he was probably the greatest pianist in the history of jazz.

Oscar Peterson was born in Montreal and presently lives in Toronto. In 1934, at the age of seven, he first played the piano. He was a local success, and won world fame and critical raves when he came up out of the audience at New York's Carnegie Hall and played on September 18, 1949. Two years later he formed his famous trio and has been renowned as an artist ever since.

Calypso

Calypso is the music of Trinidad. It is the music of the ordinary people. The lessons of history, the analysis of current events and the basis of political opposition can all be found in this type of music.

More than anything else, calypso is the background music of the great two-day-long Trinidad Carnival. During the Carnival people roam the streets of cities such as Port of Spain and San Fernando following their favourite steel bands and dancing to the music of the calypso. In the streets and in the calypso tents the audience joins in the music and celebration. They sing along, leap and dance and occasionally heckle performers they do not like.

Calypso music derives from the customs of the nineteenth century. Then lead singers (a *chanteul*) with roving drummers, chanters and stickfighters provided entertainment. Stickfighting was accompanied by

the music. It was part dance, part ritual and part sport. Its violence, however, has lessened over the years and the competition has been made part of the calypso music itself. Now, the major calypso singers meet in contests where they compete for titles such as Calypso King and Road March King in the island's yearly competitions.

Something of the past is retained in the names that calypso singers use. Often they recall fierce warriors or symbols of violence, such as Attila the Hun, Roaring Lion and Growling Tiger. As often, however, the names are merely ironic. Some of Trinidad's most popular singers today are the Mighty Chalkdust, the Mighty Sparrow and the Mighty Shadow.

Robert Chodos, writing in the *Last Post*, said that

The importance of Carnival in Trinidadian life makes no sense in North American terms; it is the only thing into which Trinidadians pour the organizational talent, discipline and dedication they clearly have in abundance. It has been said that Carnival helps divert attention from less innocent pursuits, such as politics; the ancient formula for keeping people content is, after all, bread and circuses and Trinidad, where people have only a little bread, relies heavily on the circus side of things.

This, however, is not the whole truth of calypso and Carnival. Calypso is also a purely Trinidadian art form. It is often simple in thought and expression but it also displays insight, wit and frequently discontent with living conditions and social events. As Chodos acknowledges,

Instead of importing black power and black radicals, we have brought the sun, laughter and spices of our culture here

Bromley Armstrong

The history of Carnival is largely the history of attempts by rulers of Trinidad to suppress it and successful resistance to these attempts by the masses of people.

An example of the kind of calypso that might upset the government of Trinidad was one sung by the Mighty Chalkdust (schoolteacher Hollis Liverpool) that commented on the fall of Richard Nixon:

Richard Nixon, you deserve your fate
For breaking into the Watergate . . .
But if you had studied Trinidad better
You might have remained in power.

The song goes on to make allegations that the government in Trinidad also used dirty tricks and cover-ups to maintain its power but that, unlike President Nixon, the people involved in the scandal were never prosecuted.

Another calypso singer, Lord Valentino, put forward this political statement in a song about his homeland:

People not serious
Very few conscious
So I cannot agree
With my own chorus . . .
But I hear some people talking about
 revolution day
Changes on the way.

For the most part, however, political themes are played down in calypso. They usually celebrate all aspects of island life and, of course, praise the abilities of the singers who perform them.

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We have won a fine and fruitful country,
but will hardly be allowed to enjoy it.

Thorvald,
brother of Leif,
1000 AD

The Scandinavians

It has often been said that British Canadians have regarded the Scandinavian people with particular favour. The long historical connections between Britain and the Scandinavian countries were one of the main reasons why immigration from countries such as Iceland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden was encouraged. Scandinavians also have historical connections with Canada. Viking explorers were probably the original European discoverers of what is now Newfoundland and Nova Scotia in about 1000 AD.

More recent Norse explorers have also made their contribution. Otto Sverdrup, for example, won recognition for charting the west coast of Ellesmere Island in 1898-1899.

Population by City of People of Scandinavian Origin

Calgary	20 005
Edmonton	23 280
Halifax	1 540
Hamilton	3 400
Kingston	755
London	2 410
Montreal	6 355
Ottawa-Hull	3 805
Peterborough	380
Regina	5 280
Saint John	895
Sarnia	755
Saskatoon	7 195
St. John's	475
Sudbury	1 285
Sault Ste. Marie	1 040
Thunder Bay	4 400
Toronto	18 360
Vancouver	51 870
Victoria	6 900
Windsor	1 230
Winnipeg	17 530

Source 1971 Census

Icelanders

The first permanent Icelandic settlement in Canada was at Gimli, Manitoba in 1875. There the people led a simple life much as in their former home. One of the original settlers, Magnus G. Gudlaugson, left this account.

In the evening the whole family could be found assembled in the big kitchen or living room, as the case might be, all busy at various tasks. This was the same pattern of work and learning as was traditional in Iceland where the family and servants all sat together in the *baostofa* and worked, while one person would read some instructive book, such as the classical literature. It was really a very pleasant experience to sit thus together in close companionship and all working for the good of the whole group. Often the children were shelling beans or busy husking corn; they might be making nets or teasing the wool, while the older people carded and spun the wool — the men did the carding while the women sat spinning.

The decision to settle in Manitoba was encouraged by the Governor General, Lord Dufferin, whose *Letters from High Latitudes* tells the story of his visit to Iceland in 1856. In one of these letters, Lord Dufferin says of the Icelanders:

Crime, theft, debauchery, cruelty, are unknown among them; they have neither prison, gallows, nor police, and in the secluded valleys there is something of a patriarchal simplicity that reminds one of the old-world princes of whom it has been said that they were "upright and perfect, eschewing evil, and in their hearts no guile."

On his visit to Manitoba in September, 1877, Lord Dufferin went to see the Icelanders at Gimli, and in welcoming them to Canada paid tribute to their enterprise:

The homesteads I have visited seem well-built and commodious, and are certainly superior to any of the farm-houses I remember in Iceland; while the gardens and little clearings which have begun to surround them show that you have already tapped the inexhaustible store of wealth in the rich alluvial soil on which we stand—

You possess, in a far greater degree than is probably imagined, that which is the essence and foundation of all superiority — intelligence, education and intellectual activity. In fact I have not entered a single hut or cottage in the Settlement which did not contain, no matter how bare its walls, or scanty its furniture, a library of twenty or thirty volumes; and I am informed that there is scarcely a child amongst you who cannot read and write.

I welcome you to this country — a country in which you will find yourselves freemen serving no overlord, and being no man's men but your own; each master of his own farm, like the Udalmen and "Boenders" of old days; and remember that in coming among us, you will find yourselves associated with a race both kindly hearted and cognate to your own; nor in becoming Englishmen and subjects of Queen Victoria need you forget your own time-honoured customs or the picturesque annals of your forefathers. On the contrary, I trust you will continue to cherish for all time the heartstirring literature of your nation, and that from generation to generation your little ones will continue to learn in

your ancient Sagas that industry, energy, fortitude, perseverance, and stubborn endurance have ever been the characteristics of the noble Icelandic race.

The Swedes

Until the turn of this century, Sweden was largely an agricultural society and many Swedish immigrants to Canada found themselves involved in farming. The Swedes, like many of the other Scandinavians in Canada, first went West. In 1892, about half of their numbers* could be found in rural Manitoba with another 15 percent in Winnipeg.

Today about 85 percent of the Swedish people live in Western Canada. The greatest concentration is now in British Columbia, with Vancouver having more people of Swedish origin than any other Canadian city.

One of the first significant settlements of Swedes in Canada was in the Qu'Appelle Valley in Saskatchewan. There, Emmanuel Ohlen started a small group of settlers at a place to be named Stockholm. Acting as a representative of the Canadian Pacific Railway, Ohlen began a movement that was to bring colony after colony of Swedes to the Western plains. Winnipeg emerged as the first urban centre for Swedish people and remains the most important Swedish community in central Canada.

Like most Scandinavians, the Swedes preferred rural life and made their most important contribution to Canada in the toil and hardship necessary to transform the Prairies into the bread basket of Canada and the world.

Unafraid of hard work, the Swedish people have expanded their activities from farming to mining and

Scandinavian Poems from Western Canada

At my Mother's Grave

Here, by my mother's grave, the dusk is still.

Vague shapes are calling from the deeps of thought.

And holy dews are falling, slow and chill,

Upon the silent hillock I have sought.

The living and the dead alike may dream

Here in the graveyard in the failing light;

By the dim bourne of silence, earth may seem

To ripen minds a thing of nobler sight.

White headstone, carved with Viking characters,

In glimmering rows across the darkening plain

Are guarding still the spirit that was hers—

Our mother-land of saga o'er the main.

The tears that joy may shed, or sorrow cast,

Flow to the self-same sea when all is over;

And every soul must slumber here at last

Beneath the prairie rose and four-leafed clover.

Elinar P. Jonsson

Fifteen Cents in my Pocket

Limitless snowy prairies,

And a shack all frost and rime, —

There in the wintry silence

I'll celebrate Christmas-time:

Alone with my pain and sorrow,

Alone with my hopes and dreads,

And still in my heart the fragrance

The rose of remembrance sheds.

Fifteen cents in my pocket,

Merriment in my heart,

A loving maid in remembrance, —

Grief is a world apart.

Soon shall the joys of Yuletide

Echo the wide world through;

Soon shall the peace of Christmas

Sit at my table too.

Sten Wilktor Goerwell

To Alberta

Here veils of Northern Light are drawn

On high as winter closes,

And hoary dews at summer dawn

Adorn the wild red roses.

Sometimes the swelling clouds of rain

Blot out the sun's caresses;

But soon the mountains smile again

And shake their icy tresses.

Young mother like thy circling hills,

Watch ever free and tender

Over an exiled life that thrills

A foster-love to render;

But let thy mountain-guards advance,

Let ice like steel assure thee

Against the richman's arrogance

And poverty's pale fury.

Stephan G. Stephansson

lumbering. Today they are part of the general trend towards urban life and are following the lead of several politically prominent Swedes, including Carl Berg, for many years Vice-President of the Canadian Trades and Labour Congress, and Frank Eliason, former secretary of the Saskatchewan section of the United Farmers of Canada.

Swedish Festivals

Like most people who have lived for centuries in the harsh climate of the north, the major Swedish festivals celebrate the changing seasons.

The festivals originated in ancient times and have their roots in pagan religious rituals. There are three major festivals celebrated by Swedes in Canada.

Valborgsmässoafton (Valpurgis Night) takes place on the eve of May Day. It is celebrated around a great bonfire and features songs that cheerfully announce the end of winter. Then, on June 24, comes the midsummer festival. This takes place on the longest day of the year and is brought to a peak with the crowning of the Midsummer Queen. Finally, on December 13, the

On the basis of my years with the Stone Age Eskimos I feel that the chief factor in their happiness was that they were living according to the Golden Rule.

Vilhjalmur Stefansson

Swedes celebrate Lucia Day. This day follows the longest day of the year under the old Julian calendar.

Lucia Day is the favourite of the old holidays. Its legend tells of Lussi, Queen of the Light, who appears by people's bedside wearing a garland of green leaves and a crown of lighted candles on her head. She comes to promise the return of light and an end to the winter darkness. As with most traditional societies, pagan rituals were changed gradually and included in the customs of Christianity. The ancient figure of Lussi was linked to the Italian Saint Lucia. In Canada today, the festival of Lussi has been transformed into a Christmas celebration which is presided over by the Queen of Light who sings her song, "Santa Lucia."

Santa Lucia

The night goes heavy-footed round farm and cottage

Around the earth the sun's forgot the shadows brood.

Then, in our dark house, bearing lighted candles walks

Santa Lucia

The darkness shall soon flee from the valleys of the earth.

And so to us she speaks the wonderful word:

The day shall rise anew out of the rosy sky

The Norwegians

Norwegians began to settle in Canada in about 1836. Most of the people from Norway, however, did not remain in Canada but moved to the Mississippi Valley in the United States. It was not until the period 1925-1929 that Norwegian settlements became a permanent and important part of the Canadian West. There were small colonies in Alberta as early as 1880 but it was not until 50 years later that substantial



numbers joined their Scandinavian cousins to farm in Saskatchewan and Alberta and to exploit the timber and fishing resources of British Columbia.

Most Norwegian immigrants went directly to rural areas. Nevertheless, the range of activities in which Norwegians have excelled has been very broad. It was Henry A. Larsen, in his RCMP patrol boat, the *St. Roch*, who first traversed the Northwest Passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic from 1940 to 1942. One of Canada's most esteemed diplomats, Chester A. Ronning, is also of Norwegian descent. Finally, skiing champion Anne Heggveit, engineers Carl Busch Thorne and Arvid Thunaes, meteorologist Svenn Orvig and author Martha Ostenso are all of Norwegian background.

The Danes

The first Dane in recorded history to set foot in Canada was Jens Munk, an explorer who landed on the west coast of Hudson Bay in 1619. Munk

claimed the territory for King Christian IV of Denmark. His claim and his expedition were, however, doomed. At the end of a long winter, only Munk and two of his men were alive; the rest died of scurvy. The first permanent Danish settlement was New Denmark, colony of seven families and five single men that was established in the St. John River Valley in New Brunswick in 1872.

Like the Norwegians, the Danes were slow to emigrate to Canada. As one government document points out:

By 1900 only about 2000 Danes had immigrated to Canada, most of them farmers and rural workers, some tradesmen and dairy farmers and a sprinkling of professional men.

This number can be compared to the 200 000 Danes who had moved from their homeland to the United States. Again like the Norwegians, the early peak of Danish immigration came in the late 1920s when



the United States adopted restrictive immigration legislation.

However, by far the greatest influx of Danes came in the years following World War II. After about 1951 Canada welcomed thousands of Danish people with many useful skills — architecture, engineering, education. They have made rapid advances in their short time in Canada and, though small in number, the Danish-Canadian community is making itself felt in many aspects of Canadian life. From biologist Dr. A.E. Porsild, winner of the 1966 Massey Medal for scientific achievement, and medical researcher Dr. Vibeke Engelbert, to the craftsmen and designers who have revolutionized furniture design, the Danes have added to the Scandinavians in Canada and enhanced life here.

The Finns

Finland was dominated by Sweden from earliest times. The Finns, a group of people related to the Estonians and Hungarians, were made a Grand Duchy of Russia in 1809 and did not win independence until

1917. The Finnish people were politically and economically repressed during the nineteenth century. The crop failure and famine of 1867-1868 and political measures, such as the Manifesto revoking traditional constitutional rights in Finland by the Russian Czar in 1899, combined to make emigration attractive.

The first Finns to come to Canada arrived early in the 1800s. Many of the young men found work in construction and worked on projects such as the Welland Canal. During the nineteenth century, people from Finland moved to Alaska or to the United States and often came from there to Canada. The early years of the twentieth century brought much political unrest to Finland and from then on large numbers of Finns began to come directly to this country.

By far the greatest number of Finns live in Ontario where they have settled in northern communities such as Thunder Bay, Sudbury, Cochrane and Algoma. Their skills and their experience in northern climates have made their contribution to northern development

unique. Working in skilled trades like cabinet-making, carpentry, boat-building and lumbering, the Finnish people have opened up northern Ontario to exploitation and growth. More recently, however, young people of Finnish descent have begun to migrate to the major cities. This pattern is the same in many ethnic groups. The third and fourth generation members have tended to move away from the land and take advantage of the economic opportunities in large urban communities.

It is therefore fitting that one of the most important symbolic links between Canada and Finland can be found in the city of Toronto. There the late Viljo Revell designed the world famous City Hall. This building not only symbolizes Finnish-Canadian relations but is a good example of so much Finnish architecture and design. It stands as a monument to the part played by Finns in building railways, canals and hydro-electric dams, and in clearing the forests and working the mines. Only on the base of such labour can modern cities be built and Revell's architectural triumph, like the city itself, stands upon the proud foundation of the lives of ordinary men and women.

Similarities and Contributions

In addition to a long history of Scandinavian involvement in the exploration of North America, there are dramatic parallels between Canada and the Scandinavian countries that have added to the lure of Canada for prospective Scandinavian emigrants. Similar climate and a long history of parliamentary institutions have made for a cultural similarity that has helped Scandinavians integrate in Canadian society.



The Scandinavian people have generally had a warm reception, especially in the West. They have contributed considerably to the communities they have created or joined. One of the lasting contributions has come in the form of cooperative organizations. Living in isolated communities with few resources

at their disposal, the Scandinavian people kept their traditions of mutual aid. By pooling their efforts and their wealth, the Scandinavians worked for community-controlled business and social assistance. This did much to help the prosperity of the West and in the remote areas of Canada.

Cooperation: A Scandinavian Approach to Economics

In Canada, the cooperative movement has been an important influence in the organization of economic production and distribution. Cooperatives originated in England with the utopian movements among the weavers of Rochdale and the Diggers. These groups sought to build a society based on sharing responsibilities for work and on equal distribution of goods.

By the beginning of this century the cooperatives were largely consumer societies. A Swedish government commission commented on the success of cooperatives in that country in 1922:

It is clear that consumers' cooperation offers a vigorous defense against the tendencies of private trade to combine in order to keep up prices artificially.

The roots of the cooperatives were in the industrial working class. However, again in Sweden, the ordinary people took some pride in the fact that one of the members of the Royal Family became a member of the Stockholm Cooperative Society.

The Swedish cooperatives are involved in manufacturing and in retailing. By being a member of a co-op, an individual gains the benefits of reduced prices for goods and services as well as a dividend based on the amount of money spent at each co-op store. Besides being a sound business investment and a means of consumer savings, people in co-ops are proud that their movement has never had to appeal to the government for assistance.

In Denmark, the focus of cooperative societies has been the land. The Danish Heath Society, which began in 1866, has done nothing

I would be very much concerned that the widest possible support was given by all levels of government to the preservation of the cultural traditions associated with the particular ethnic groups in Canada. I wouldn't worry for a moment about the difference between Canadian and American corporations.

John Kenneth Galbraith

Occupational Groups, 1971

	Scandinavian (percentage)
Managerial, administrative and related	3.8
Natural sciences, engineering and mathematics	3.0
Social sciences and related	0.7
Religion	0.2
Teaching and related	4.0
Medicine and related	3.7
Art, literature, performing arts and related	0.8
Clerical and related	13.7
Sales	9.1
Service	10.7
Farming, horticulture and animal husbandry	12.6
Fishing, hunting, trapping and related	0.5
Forestry and logging	1.2
Mining, quarrying, including oil and gas field	1.1
Processing	3.0
Machining	2.0
Production, fabrication, assembly and repair	5.2
Construction trades	8.0
Transport-equipment operation	4.0
Material handling and related	2.6
Other crafts and equipment operation	1.2
Not stated and not elsewhere classified	8.9
Total	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, *Perspective Canada: A Compendium of Social Statistics* (Ottawa: 1974), p. 275.

less than transform Denmark from a backward, poverty-stricken area into a healthy society based largely on small farms. By reclaiming barren land, draining bogs and cultivating meadows, the Heath Society restored nearly 11 700 km² of land in the area known as Jutland. Since 1866 it is estimated that approximately 20 percent of Danish soil has been brought under cultivation through the efforts of this cooperative movement. . . .

These are only two examples of the way in which private associations of people have pooled their money and work for the benefit of

all and the beneficial effects it can have on an economy. The experience of the Scandinavians has not been lost on Scandinavian immigrants who have brought many of their ideas with them to Canada. Even today, Scandinavian economists, such as Gunnar Adler-Karlsson, have contributed to the debate about the viability of an independent Canadian economy. The solid achievements and common-sense approach to community problems has led many Canadians to wonder if Canada would not be well-served by adopting cooperative methods of organizing an economy.

Summary

People have always come to Canada to seek a better life for themselves and their families. At the time of Confederation, the great majority of Canadians were either English or French. Today, this has changed, and Canada has really become a multicultural society. But the heritage of many cultural groups in Canada extends back over two centuries. Each group has provided leaders in almost every field of endeavour; politics and art, engineering and literature, science and teaching. But the contribution of Canada's many immigrants cannot be measured simply by listing the achievements of individual men and women. Canada has been built by the efforts of countless people whose names have never been recorded, whether they be the Lunenburg fishermen who have toiled on the sea for two hundred years, the Ukrainian farmers who first cultivated the Prairies or the Chinese workers who helped to build the railway to the Pacific.

Life in a new country is seldom easy. Unfortunately, many groups have suffered the added burdens of discrimination and exploitation. Today Canada is truly enriched by the colourful mosaic of her peoples' many traditions and customs. But until discrimination disappears, Canada will never fully benefit from her multicultural heritage.

Chapter Six: Facing the Issues



THE CANADIAN BILL OF

*An Act for the Recognition and Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms
Statutes of Canada 1960, 8-9 Elizabeth II, Chapter 44, assented to*



THE Parliament of Canada, affirming that the Canadian Nation is founded upon principles that acknowledge the supremacy of God, the dignity and worth of the human person and the position of the family in a society of free men and free institutions;

Affirming also that men and institutions remain free only when freedom is founded upon respect for moral and spiritual values and the rule of law;

And being desirous of enshrining these principles and the human rights and fundamental freedoms derived from them, in a Bill of Rights which shall reflect the respect of Parliament for its constitutional authority and which shall ensure the protection of these rights and freedoms in Canada:

THEREFORE Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:

PART I BILL OF RIGHTS

1. It is hereby recognized and declared that in Canada there have existed and shall continue to exist without discrimination by reason of race, national origin, colour, religion or sex, the following human rights and fundamental freedoms, namely,

a) the right of the individual to life, liberty, security of the person and enjoyment of property, and the

right not to be deprived thereof except by due process of law;
b) the right of the individual to equality before the law and the protection of the law;
c) freedom of religion;
d) freedom of speech;
e) freedom of assembly and association; and
f) freedom of the press.

2. Every law of Canada shall, unless it is expressly declared by an Act of the Parliament of Canada that it shall operate notwithstanding the *Canadian Bill of Rights*, be so construed and applied as not to abrogate, abridge or infringe or to authorize the abrogation, abridgment or infringement of any of the rights or freedoms herein recognized and declared, and in particular, no law of Canada shall be construed or applied so as to

- authorize or effect the arbitrary detention, imprisonment or exile of any person;
- impose or authorize the imposition of cruel and unusual treatment or punishment;
- deprive a person who has been arrested or detained
(i) of the right to be informed promptly of the reason for his arrest or detention,
(ii) of the right to retain and instruct counsel without delay, or
(iii) of the remedy by way of *habeas corpus* for the determination of the validity of his detention and for his release if the detention is not lawful;
- authorize a court, tribunal, commission, board or other authority to compel a person to give evidence if he is denied counsel, protection against self incrimination or other constitutional safeguards;



PARLIAMENT BUILDING, OTTAWA



Roger Duhamel, F.R.S.C., Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Canada.

"I am a
worship God
oppose who
country. I
all mankind"

The Ri

Is Canada a mosaic, melting pot or tossed salad?

What should Canada's immigration policies be?

How can native people achieve justice in Canadian society?

Does Quebec have a future within Confederation?

RIGHTS

l Freedoms.
ust 1960.

person of the right to a fair hearing in
with the principles of fundamental justice
mination of his rights and obligations;
person charged with a criminal offence
it to be presumed innocent until proved
according to law in a fair & public hearing
pendent and impartial tribunal, or of
to reasonable bail without just cause; or
person of the right to the assistance of an
in any proceedings in which he is involved
he is a party or a witness before a court,
board or other tribunal, if he does not
d or speak the language in which such
gs are conducted.

r of Justice shall, in accordance with such
may be prescribed by the Governor in Council,
proposed regulation submitted in draft form
the Privy Council pursuant to the *Regulations*
ill introduced in or presented to the House
order to ascertain whether any of the
of are inconsistent with the purposes and
is Part and he shall report any such in-
the House of Commons at the first con-
unity.

ons of this Part shall be known as the
f Rights.

e Canadian, free to speak without fear, free to
y, free to stand for what I think right, free to
g, free to choose those who shall govern my
freedom I pledge to uphold for myself and

John G. Diefenbaker

John G. Diefenbaker, Prime Minister of Canada,
se of Commons Debates, July 1, 1960.

In Chapters 2 to 5 of *Canadian Studies: Country and Culture*, we have attempted to portray the rich cultural diversity of the Canadian people. In the first chapter, we raised some questions about the problems that have prevented these groups from realizing their full potential. Answers do not come easily, and the task is made more difficult because different groups have different needs. Native people need to express their cultural identity in one way, while recent immigrants need something else. French Canadians living in the Western provinces have very different aspirations from the Quebecois. If Canadian multiculturalism is to bear fruit, then each need must be met and there should be equal opportunity and justice for all.

It is simply not good enough to appreciate the cultural diversity of this country. Each one of us must face up to the fundamental issues that still prevent Canada from achieving the ideals of a just society. It is not good enough, for example, to speak of the benefits of multiculturalism if we do not realize exactly what our immigration policy means and how we treat new arrivals to this country. Racial discrimination and unfair exploitation of immigrants must be replaced by a full recognition that, as Canadian citizens, they deserve a fair return for the taxes they pay, the work they do and the goods they consume. It is only when we come to grips with these real problems that we can begin to reap the benefits of Canada's rich cultural diversity.

In the earlier chapters we raised several key issues that Canadians should be aware of. They included: the idea that Canadian society is a mosaic; the treatment of Canada's native peoples; the role of Quebec in Confederation; and the future direction of Canada's immigration policies.

Now that we have examined some of the history of many of Canada's ethnic groups as well as their situation today, we are better equipped to analyze these issues. A good way of doing this is to see what a variety of politicians, academics and concerned citizens have said. In addition, we can look at data from government statistics, election results, newspaper reports and public opinion polls.

Mosaic, Melting Pot or Tossed Salad: What Should Canada be Like?

Forms of Social Interaction

In any society there are various ways people come into contact with each other both at the individual and at the group level. These range from pure conflict at the one end to pure cooperation at the other. Between these two extremes are competition and tolerance. For any society to function harmoniously it must find ways to improve cooperation and lessen potential conflicts.

Tolerance in the Twentieth Century

Pierre Trudeau has recently been influential in encouraging a more tolerant attitude towards minorities. He tends to regard nationalism with suspicion and ethnic prejudice with disgust. As he put it in an interview in October, 1975, "A nation-state in an ethnic or a religious sense is oppressive of its minorities. Therefore I'm against that nationalism. I'm against nationalism even of a broader sense, if it is a rationale for those who have power . . . to bring in solutions deleterious to individual freedoms."

This position was stated more fully in Prime Minister Trudeau's speech to the House of Commons on 8 October, 1971. At that time he announced that his government accepted the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism on ethnic minorities. The Commission, it should be remembered, was established by the Liberal government under Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson to inquire into the relations not only among Canada's citizens of French or British origin but also among Canadians from other cultures.

Proceedings of the House of Commons Pierre Elliot Trudeau

It was the view of the royal commission, shared by the government and, I am sure, by all Canadians, that there cannot be one cultural policy for Canadians of British and French origin, another for the original peoples and yet a third for all others. For although there are two official languages, there is no official culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any

other. No citizen or group of citizens is other than Canadian, and all should be treated fairly.

The royal commission was guided by the belief that adherence to one's ethnic group is influenced not so much by one's origin or mother tongue as by one's sense of belonging to the group, and by what the commission calls the group's "collective will to exist". The government shares this belief.

The individual's freedom would be hampered if he were locked for life within a particular cultural compartment by the accident of birth or language. It is vital, therefore, that every Canadian, whatever his ethnic origin, be given a chance to learn at least one of the two languages in which his country conducts its official business and its politics.

A policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual frame-work commends itself to the government as the most suitable means of assuring the cultural freedom of Canadians. Such a policy should help to break down discriminatory attitudes and cultural jealousies. National unity if it is to mean anything in the deeply personal sense, must be founded on confidence in one's own individual identity; out of this can grow respect for that of others and a willingness to share ideas, attitudes and assumptions. A vigorous policy of multiculturalism will help create this initial confidence. It can form the base of a society which is based on fair play for all.

The government will support and encourage the various cultures and ethnic groups that give structure and vitality to our society. They will be encouraged to share their cultural expression and values with other Canadians and so contribute to a richer life for us all.



In conclusion, I wish to emphasize the view of the government that a policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework is basically the conscious support of individual freedom of choice. We are free to be ourselves. But this cannot be left to chance. It must be fostered and pursued actively. If freedom of choice is in danger for some ethnic groups, it is in danger for all. It is the policy of this government to eliminate any such danger and to "safeguard" this freedom.

(Reprinted by permission of Information Canada. House of Commons Debates, October 8, 1971.)

Tensions Go On

Despite the best intentions of the federal government, the conflict among ethnic groups in Canada has not disappeared. It is true that the most blatantly bigoted statements are seldom heard any more. People try very hard not to appear prejudiced. Still, the underlying conflicts in our society continue.

The continuing tension between French and English Canada has not been resolved in spite of the federal

government's efforts to promote biculturalism. In fact there are some who argue that the emphasis placed upon French-English relations in the past generation has only intensified the conflict and hardened people's prejudices. The following excerpt from the Introduction to Leandré Bergeron's controversial book, *The History of Quebec: A Patriot's Handbook*, gives a good insight into the frustrations felt by many Quebecois today.

Quebec is spoiling the image Canada has of itself. Quebec is disturbing the comfort of a "peaceful country going about its business." Quebec is undermining the very foundations of a well-adjusted modern state. How awful can a province get?

Canadians have been told that their country was founded by two nations who decided one day to become partners in building a country, like two businessmen getting together to swing a deal. Canadians have been told that the French (that is, the Québécois) are less interested in commercial enterprise because of their Gallic origins and their educational system, that they are a gay, carefree people, keeping to themselves, and trying to keep alive centuries-old traditions. Canadians have been told things about the Québécois that reassured them and kept them away from the real issue: that the Québécois are colonized and that Canadians are accomplices of the colonizer.

Words like this are hard for an English Canadian to accept. Canadians do not like to think of themselves as oppressors and often react indignantly when accused of keeping another people down.

What is true for English-French relations is also true for the relations among all Canadian ethnic groups. As we have seen, the native people are dissatisfied with their place in Canadian society and the white community has frequently shown little inclination to deal fairly with them. Similarly immigrants to this country still occasionally have a less than friendly reception in their new communities. Here and there racist slogans remind us that although we live in one of the most prosperous, peaceful and free societies in the world, our blessings are only relative; there are still problems.

The Bill of Rights

An important part of our response to the problems we face can be found in our legal traditions. Until 1960 Canada had no Bill of Rights. Our constitution was rather vague on the question of human rights. It was considered unconstitutional to deprive a person of political or social rights because of his "country of origin." It was not possible to have a law that treated people born in Germany or Jamaica differently from people born in Sweden or Canada. However, it was possible to have a law that treated different races differently. Thus, laws that discriminated against Orientals were considered valid although laws that discriminated against Japanese were not. In fact, Canada still has one piece of legislation that treats one segment of our population differently. We would probably become upset if there was an attempt to pass a Jewish Act or an African Act but people do not seem to mind the fact that there is an Indian Act.

In 1960, the Canadian government, under the Rt. Hon. John G.



Diefenbaker, changed our legal structure by passing the Canadian Bill of Rights to guarantee important human liberties.

This document was hailed at the time as a great historical achievement. It was applauded throughout the country until only a few years ago when people discovered that its provisions were not as strong as they had seemed at first.

The original Act appears to be quite clear and it is important that we become familiar with its provisions.

Assimilation or Pluralism

If we are to discuss the type of Canadian society we would like to see, we should set out our alternatives. The two main choices are usually classified as assimilationist or pluralist. We will therefore examine these in turn.

Assimilation

People who support the assimilationist position argue that we would be better off if our society did away with ethnic difference. They consider that keeping ethnic differences contributes little to our society but provides an excuse for hostility among groups. The assimilationists argue that conflict among ethnic

groups will continue as long as dissimilar people try to live close together. They propose a melting pot concept as the answer to our problems. In Canadian terms they argue for one Canada, one culture.

The assimilationist position may be attractive because of its simplicity but it carries with it two serious problems. First, Canada has long accepted the idea that there are two charter cultures and that neither the English nor the French culture should totally overwhelm the other. This has led to a tradition of toleration for certain minority groups that have managed to retain some of their cultural integrity. Secondly, it can be argued that, despite a considerable amount of tolerance, some groups have been discriminated against throughout our history. These groups may have been quite willing to join in the dominant Canadian culture but have been excluded, forced to sit on the sidelines and remain isolated. To expect such people to join our society as full participants after years of exclusion is to ask them to forgive a great deal. Having remained apart for a long time, they may prefer to bargain for something greater than equal rights.

Pluralism

Opposed to the assimilationists are the pluralists. These people support the idea of cultural diversity. They dislike seeing a group lose its unique identity. As sociologist Brewton Berry put it, "There are those who regard cultural diversity as highly desirable, as a source of strength to a nation, as a stimulus to cultural growth, as giving colour and interest to a society." They are upset when a group allows itself or is forced to "discard its traditions, and permit its values, its folk

Assimilation is wheatfields and symphonies.

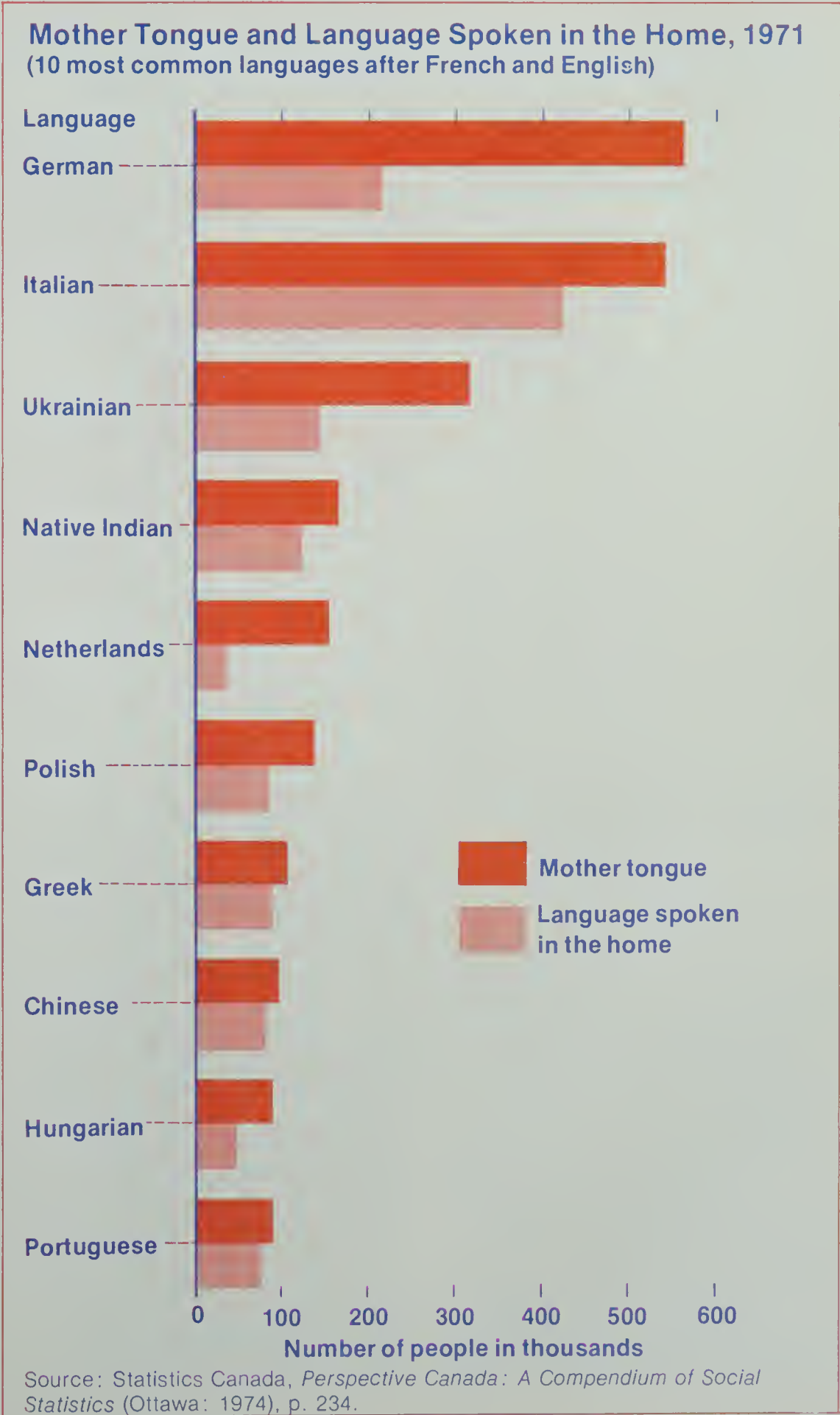
Vera Lysenko

dances and arts, to perish from want of nourishment.”

The ideal of the Canadian mosaic is a pluralist ideal. It affirms that Canada is a multicultural society that can benefit from its diversity. This ideal has been fashionable in recent years as Canada has changed with the influx of immigrants after World War II.

However, there are problems associated with the pluralist ideal. In the first place, the pluralist must realize that despite the attractiveness of a culturally diverse and cosmopolitan society, the kind of ethnic differences Canada permits are largely recreational. Multiculturalism is very shallow if ethnic differences amount to no more than tastes in cooking or folk dances while members of the various groups remain otherwise indistinguishable from other Canadians in their political beliefs, their educational preferences and their job categories. If all people drive the same cars on the same highways to return to the same homes after working all day at the same kind of jobs, it is questionable whether their ethnic differences matter a great deal — except perhaps to themselves. Moreover, since there are real differences in levels of educational achievement, incomes and the prejudice encountered in social relations, multiculturalism may be nothing more than a pleasant way of talking about inequality.

Despite the problems, we continue to debate the comparative virtues of these two fundamental approaches.



Assimilation implies almost total absorption into another linguistic and cultural group

*Royal Commission on
Bilingualism and
Biculturalism*

Judd Buchanan, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

A Third Alternative

However, it might be worthwhile to consider a third idea. It is a combination of the first two and suggests that there is, in fact, much tolerance for diversity but that this tolerance has definite and not always predictable limits.

Until very recently, for example, French and English Canada did not so much tolerate each other as ignore each other. Only in politics did the two independent cultures meet. And then it was only the experts, the politicians and the businessmen who really talked to each other, and usually only in private.

As for the other ethnic groups, they were also left in comparative isolation. The groups that have maintained some measure of cultural integrity have done so largely because they massed in one geographic region in sufficient numbers to resist assimilation. Those who came in too few numbers or who spread thinly across the country were soon brought under the sway of British or French ideas and attitudes.

This seems consistent with the notion of the mosaic until it is understood that tolerance is not guaranteed unless the minority group can defend itself. In times of national prosperity and security there is usually a fair amount of tolerance, but this can quite easily change when conditions become less stable.

The alternative to the mosaic or the melting pot may be less complementary to Canadians, but it should not be disregarded. For the most part the Canadian people have shown that they are warm, open and compassionate when it comes to greeting and living with immigrants. However, it is often said that

there ought to be more than good will to ensure that the bitterness and intolerance that have flared up from time to time are not repeated.

The Canadian Indian: Assimilation, Integration or Separation?

As we saw in Chapter 2, the issue of the Indians' position in Canadian society has been controversial for a long time. It has led to struggle and bitter defeat. In addition, it was shown that Canadian governments, both federal and provincial, have often been inconsistent, indecisive and narrow in their policies in spite of some good intentions. It is becoming increasingly apparent that the legal issue of ownership of land and treaty rights is a very complex matter. It will probably develop into long and difficult battles in the courts.

But the legal process is not all there is to the Indian issue. A major question to be answered is whether the future of the Indian is to be segregation, integration or assimilation.

What do these terms mean? Segregation is simply a policy of separation; the Indians would live on reserves either by choice or by compulsion. Integration is both an economic and organizational policy. The Indians would take part, economically, socially and politically, in Canadian society. At the same time



they would keep much of their traditional way of life, such as their family structure and culture. Assimilation, as we have seen, is simply a matter of absorbing the Indians into the mainstream of Canadian culture.

The Indian community totally rejects the idea of assimilation. And the federal government does not accept this as a feasible alternative either.

The White Paper

On July 25, 1969 the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development under the Hon. Jean Chretien announced a new policy to the House of Commons. The foreword of that document sets the general tone and philosophy of the White Paper:

The Government believes that its policies must lead to the full, free and non-discriminatory participation of the Indian people in Canadian society. Such a goal requires a break with the past. It requires that

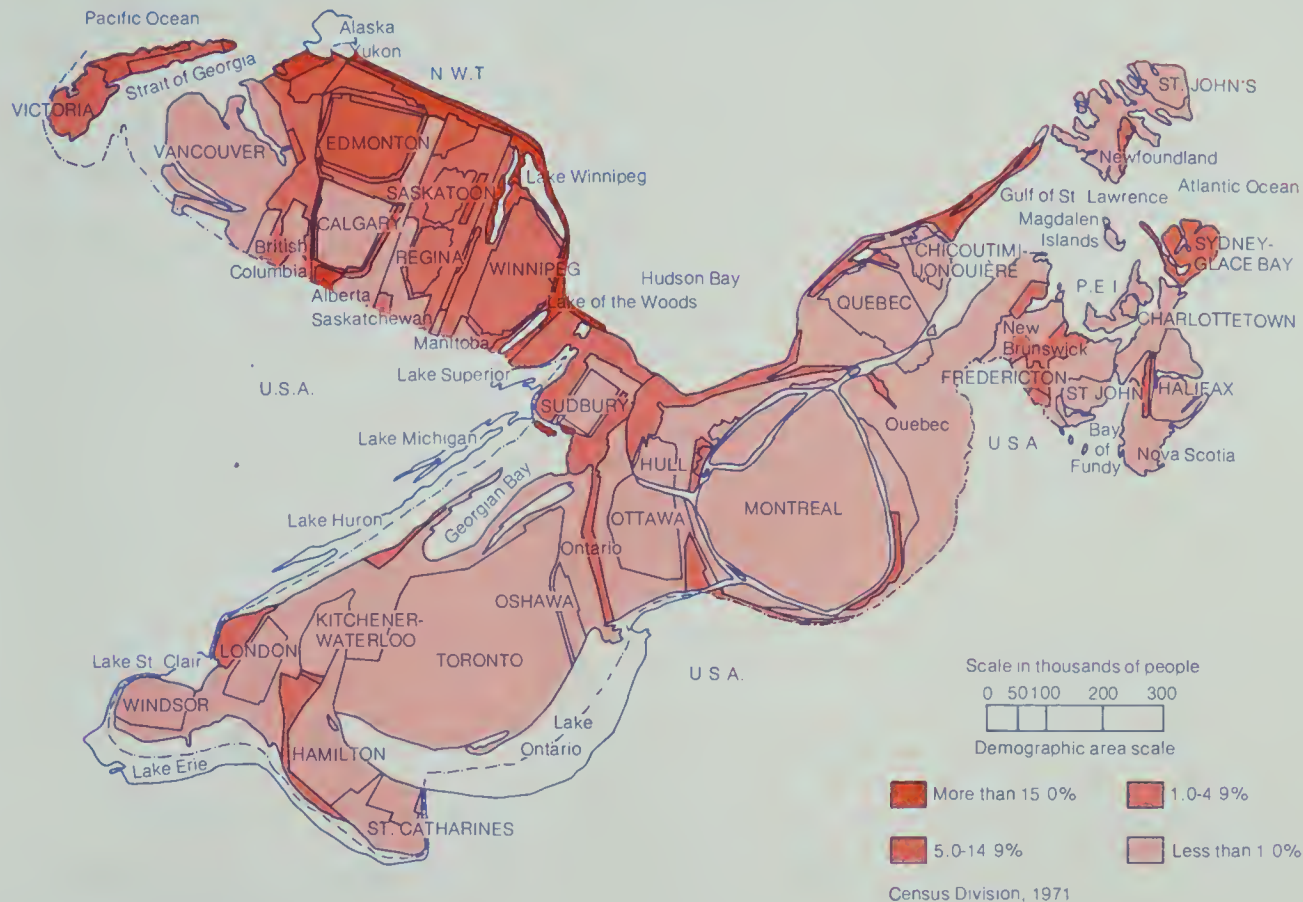
Integration does not imply the loss of an individual's identity

*Royal Commission on
Bilingualism and
Biculturalism*

Both Integration and assimilation occur in Canada

*Royal Commission on
Bilingualism and
Biculturalism*

Native Indian Population by Census Division, 1971



Source: Statistics Canada, *Perspective Canada* (Ottawa: 1974), p.239.

the Indian people's role of dependence be replaced by a role of equal status, opportunity and responsibility, a role they can share with all other Canadians.

Right to Control Own Lands

The White Paper suggested that Indians should be given title to the approximately 2 600 000 hectares of land on the 2200 reserves across Canada. The government argued that:

The result of Crown ownership and the Indian Act has been to tie the Indian people to a land system that lacks flexibility and inhibits development. If an Indian band wishes to gain income by leasing its land, it has to do so through a cumbersome system involving the

Government as trustee. It cannot mortgage reserve lands to finance development on its own initiative. Indian people do not have control of their lands except as the Government allows, and this is no longer acceptable to them.

The degree of flexibility to be built into the proposal can be seen from a speech made by the minister:

We believe that a non-discriminatory society can accommodate different ways of holding and controlling land. Some people own land in their own names. Some hold land through corporations or partnerships. Some hold land in communal possession — such as the Hutterites. We believe that the Indian people can con-

trol their lands and ultimately own them without prejudicing their desire to have the lands remain Indian.

Equality of Services

Under the existing system the federal government is responsible for providing necessary social services. Under the BNA Act it was primarily the responsibility of provincial governments to provide such services in their province. The White Paper maintained that it would be more efficient and fair if the provinces took over this responsibility for Indians as well. Realizing the added expense involved, the document suggested that the federal government would assist in funding such a program. Again it was not simply an attempt

When the white man came we had the land and they had the Bibles; now, they have the land and we have the Bibles.

Chief Dan George

Chief Dan George

For many years Dan George laboured as longshoreman and logger in the Vancouver area. He also served his people as chief for 12 years, an office he relinquished in favour of his brother. His acting career began, quite by accident, some 10 years ago. It seems that, when a regular actor fell ill, Dan George was recommended by his son to substitute. Since that time Dan George has appeared in "The Education of Phillistine," "Cariboo Country," and "High Chaparral." In 1968 he played roles in Walt Disney Productions. At the present time he is engaged as one of the lead actors in "Little Big Man," portions of which were filmed on the Stoney Indian Reserve at Morley, Alberta. In 1967 he was asked to render a soliloquy at Vancouver Empire Stadium. It was a moving passionate sketch of the loneliness and strength of the Indian Peoples.

Confederation lament

(A speech by Chief Dan George of the Burrard Indian Reserve at the Centennial Birthday Party in Empire Stadium, Vancouver.)

How long have I known you, Oh Canada? A hundred years? Yes, a hundred years. And many many 'seelanum' more. And today, when you celebrate your hundred years, oh Canada, I am sad for all the Indian people throughout the land.

For I have known you when your forests were mine; when they gave me my meat and my clothing. I have known you in your streams and rivers where your fish flashed and danced in the sun, where the waters said come, come and eat of my abundance. I have known you in the freedom of your winds. And my spirit, like the winds, once roamed your good lands.

But in the long hundred years since the white man came, I have seen my freedom disappear like the salmon going mysteriously out to sea. The white man's strange customs which I could not understand, pressed down upon me until I could no longer breathe.

When I fought to protect my land and my home, I was called a savage. When I neither understood nor welcomed this way of life, I was called lazy. When I tried to rule my people, I was stripped of my authority.

My nation was ignored in your history textbooks — they were little more important in the history of Canada than the buffalo that ranged the plains. I was ridiculed in your plays and motion pictures, and when I drank your fire-water, I got drunk — very, very drunk. And I forgot.

Oh Canada, how can I celebrate with you this Centenary, this hundred years? Shall I thank you for the reserves that are left to me of my beautiful forests? For the canned fish of my rivers? For the loss of my pride and authority, even among my own people? For the lack of my will to fight back? No! I must forget what's past and gone.

Oh, God in Heaven! Give me back the courage of the olden Chiefs. Let me wrestle with my surroundings. Let me again, as in the days of old, dominate my environment. Let me humbly accept this new culture and through it rise up and go on.

Oh, God! Like the Thunderbird of old I shall rise again out of the sea; I shall grab the instruments of the white man's success — his education, his skills, and with these new tools I shall build my race into the proudest segment of your society. Before I follow the great Chiefs who have gone before us, oh Canada, I shall see these things come to pass.

I shall see our young braves and our chiefs sitting in the houses of law and government, ruling and being ruled by the knowledge and freedom of our great land. So shall we shatter the barriers of our isolation. So shall the next hundred years be the greatest in the proud history of our tribes and nations.

to increase efficiency but rather an effort to equalize the benefits of social services to the Indian people. In addition it would reduce the "network of Indian agencies reflecting the authoritarian tradition of a colonial administration."

Phasing Out of the Department of Indian Affairs

A significant aspect of the White Paper was its proposal to phase out the Department of Indian Affairs over a five-year period. In doing this it was proposed that other departments such as Regional Economic Expansion, Manpower and Immigration, and Secretary of State would take on the responsibilities presently under the Indian Affairs Branch. Already some of these departments have become more involved in Indian matters.

Funding for Economic Development

One of the major problems for reserve Indians has been the lack of available capital. The private sector and even the public sector has been reluctant to supply capital for proposed Indian projects both in agriculture and industry. In addition, Indians have had little opportunity to develop the necessary technical and managerial skills. This combination has severely hampered many creative and constructive projects. The White Paper recognized this and proposed granting substantial funds (\$50 million) to help alleviate the problem.

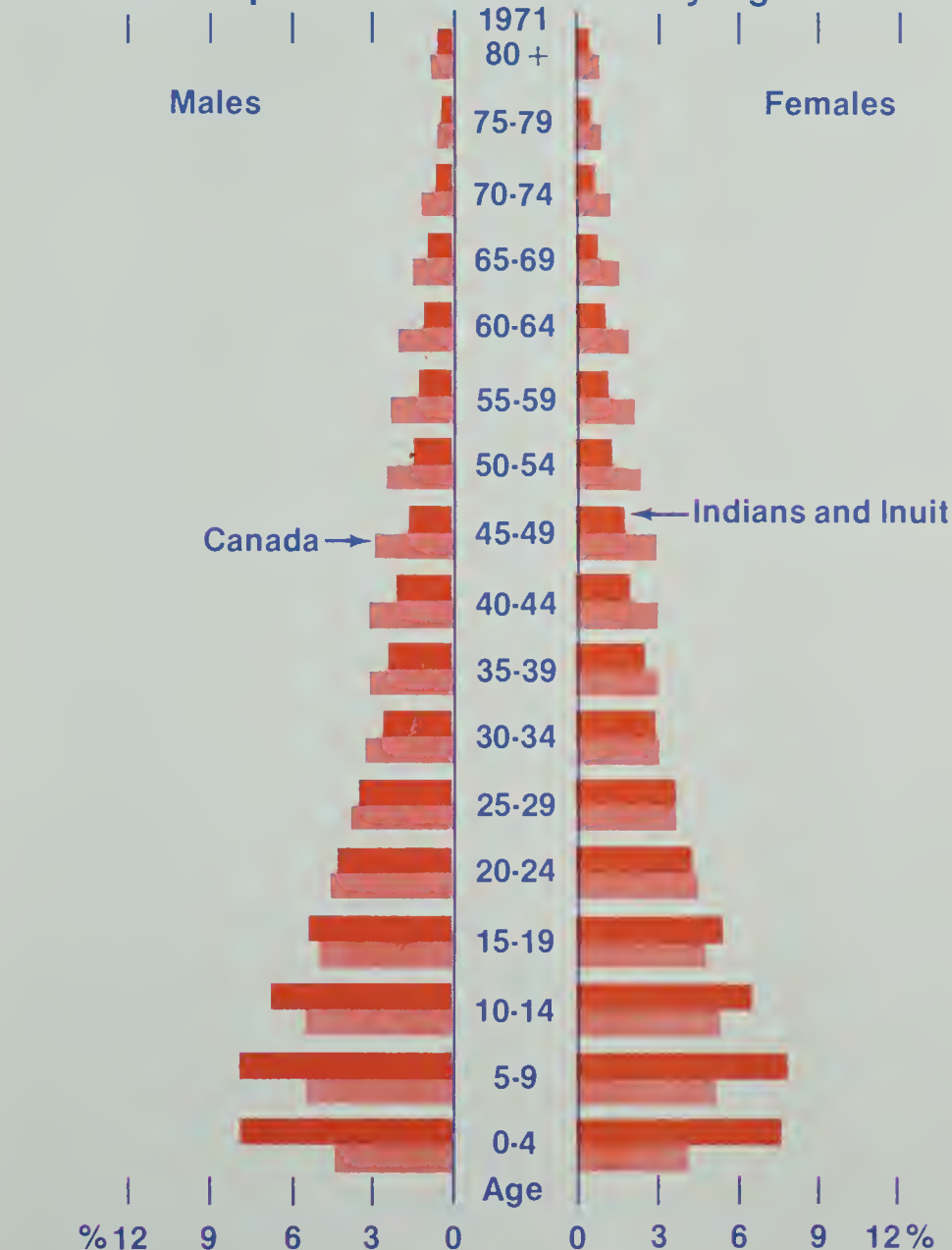
Treaty Rights

It is clear that the White Paper recognized the legality of the treaties and also the legal obligations of the federal government. The usual

It has been the aim of the government from the beginning to annihilate the Indians. Instead of the War Department now, we have the Department of Indian Affairs, whose job it is to assimilate Indians.

Buffy Sainte-Marie

Indian and Inuit Population Compared to the Total Canadian Population: Distribution by Age and Sex, 1971



Source: Statistics Canada, *Perspective Canada* (Ottawa: 1974), p.245.

terms of the treaties included initial cash payments, land reserved for exclusive Indian use, hunting, fishing and trapping privileges, and teachers. Although there were some minor differences these items were included in all the agreements.

With minor exceptions, the federal government maintains that it has met its obligations including granting land, goods and services, and any annual payments. The document went on to suggest that:

The government and the Indian people must reach a common understanding of the future role of the treaties. Some provisions will be found to have been discharged; others will have continuing importance. Many of the provisions and practices of another century may be considered irrelevant in the light of a rapidly changing society, and still others may be ended by mutual agreement.

Aboriginal Land Claims

The paper stated that aboriginal land claims "are so general and undefined that it is not realistic to think of them as specific claims capable of remedy except through a policy and program that will end injustice to Indians as members of the Canadian community." It then went on to suggest that there was a fundamental need to establish just and workable mechanisms to deal with aboriginal claims. A Claims Commission in conjunction with the National Indian Committee on Indian Rights and Treaties was to be appointed and make recommendations.

The Red Paper

The result of the Indian's reaction to the White Paper came in June, 1970 when the Indian Chiefs of Alberta and the Indian Association of Alberta presented Prime Minister Trudeau with the Red Paper, "Citizens Plus." A major argument in the Red Paper was the need to preserve the treaty rights and reserves presently guaranteed to Indians.

To us who are Treaty Indians there is nothing more important than our Treaties, our lands and the well being of our future generations. We have studied carefully the contents of the Government White Paper on Indians and we have concluded that it offers despair instead of hope. Under the guise of land ownership, the government has devised a scheme whereby within a generation or shortly after the proposed Indian Lands Act expires our people would be left with no land and consequently the future generation would be condemned to the despair and ugly spectre of urban poverty in ghettos.

The Red Paper emphatically de-

Before I can be a usefully participating and contributing citizen I must be allowed to further develop a sense of pride and confidence in myself as an Indian. I must be allowed to be a red tile in the mosaic

Harold Cardinal

nounced the idea that the legislative and constitutional position of the Indians should be eliminated. "We say that the recognition of Indian status is essential for justice. "

Ownership of Land

Although the Red Paper agreed with the intent of the White Paper, it was very critical of its assumptions:

We agree with this intent but we find that the Government is ignorant of two basic points. The Government wrongly thinks that Indian Reserve lands are owned by the Crown. The Government is, of course, in error. These lands are held in trust by the Crown but they are Indian lands. The Indians are the beneficial [actual] owners of the lands. The legal title has been held for us by the Crown to prevent the sale or breaking up of our land. We are opposed to any system of allotment that would give individual ownership with rights to sell. Indian lands must continue to be regarded in a different manner than other lands in Canada. It must be held forever in trust of the Crown because, as we say, "The true owners of the land are not yet born."

Minister of Indian Affairs

The Red Paper strongly supported the idea of creating a separate department for Indian affairs. It argued that there should be a minister responsible solely for Indian affairs.

We are insulted because it is clear that the Government does not intend to regard its Indian people as deserving proper cabinet representation. As soon as we get a full time Minister, there will be some hope for useful consultations.

Recognition of Treaties

The Red Paper was clear on the issue of treaty rights:

The Government must declare that it accepts the treaties as binding and must pledge that it will incorporate the treaties in updated terms in an amendment to the Canadian constitution.

The Red Paper offered a number of alternatives for clarifying the treaties:

1. *The Government should appoint a Permanent Standing Committee of the House of Commons and Senate with members from all parties to deal only with registered Indians and their affairs.*
2. *The treaties could be referred to the Court of Canada with the understanding that the Court would examine all supporting evidence and not merely the bare treaty.*
3. *We would agree to referring the interpretation of the treaties to an impartial body such as the International Court of Justice at the Hague.*

Positive Reaction to the White Paper

Not all Indians are totally opposed to the government's policies proposed in the White Paper. William I.C. Wuttunee, a Calgary lawyer and Cree Indian originally from Saskatchewan, is a severe critic of what he calls the "treaty mentality" and dependency on the white man's money. He advocates integration with the white community and as a successful lawyer and former chief of the National Indian Council of Canada and a former director of the Indian-Eskimo Association he ob-

viously demonstrates the feasibility of such an approach.

In his book, *Ruffled Feathers*, he spoke out in favour of parts of the White Paper and criticized some of the reactions in the Red Paper. The following are excerpts from his book.

The Red Paper was against everything which had been proposed in the government's policy Statement. It crystalized the attitude of the registered treaty Indians of the prairie provinces towards the White Paper. Actually, the so-called counter proposals were no more than the laborious repetition of requests which had been previously presented to the government. In 1960 twenty-six briefs were submitted by the Indians and friends of Indians to the Joint Committee on Indian Affairs, which heard Indian grievances under the joint chairmanship of Senator James Gladstone and Mr. Lucien Grenier. The submissions at that time included pleas for modernization of the treaties and for a new interpretation of the term "medicine chest". They also demanded a full-time Minister of Indian Affairs.

Since a great deal of time, energy and publicity was expended on the Red Paper, one would have expected some constructive ideas to come out of it. As the Red Paper was prepared with the assistance of M & M Systems Research, an organization established by the former Social Credit Premier of Alberta and his son, for a reputed fee of \$25 000, the Red Paper should probably have been called the "Socred Paper".

It further appears that the Red Paper indicates a reverse in trend, from integration towards segrega-

tion. There is no mention of integration, and the whole theme of the Red Paper is against the involvement of Indians in the Canadian way of life. They wish primarily to develop their own culture and their institutions with the aid of provincial and federal funds.

In the past, Indian submissions to the government asked for provincial responsibility in education, for the transfer of health and welfare services to the provinces, and for the development of roads, power and telephones on a federal/provincial cost-sharing basis. They have wanted to increase the productivity of the reserves and they have always wanted equal status with Canadians. Instead, the Red Paper has concentrated on the recognition of treaties, thereby reversing the previous trend towards a modern approach in relations between Indians and non-Indians.

The White Paper in Limbo

Although the White Paper has never been adopted as the official government position it remains the point of departure for discussion and analysis. So far it has not been replaced by anything else. Canada therefore has a policy that neither the government nor the native people are totally satisfied with.

The Question of Integration

Having briefly examined the government's latest position paper and various responses to it, we should now examine the whole issue of integration.

For native peoples, the issue of integration is a very personal and sensitive matter. It is often assumed that Indians have two choices: to remain a true Indian by living on the reserve or to join the mainstream of

Canadian society and be assimilated. However, many Indians no longer see these as the only two alternatives. In her book, *Defeathering the Indian*, Emma LaRogue, a Métis from northeastern Alberta, discusses the problems of culture and heritage. She speaks forcefully to both Indians and whites on the issue of integration.

A few years ago, a friend and I were watching color television in a modern high-rise apartment. Like thousands of other Canadians, we were enjoying the Stanley Cup Playoffs. Suddenly my friend burst out, "I don't know anything about my culture! I am supposed to be an Indian working for a Native organization, but I don't know anything about my culture."

On many occasions the concern my friend raised had been my concern, too; a concern which causes an inner struggle shared by most contemporary Indians. But just then it struck me that perhaps the high-rise, the television and hockey were our culture, too. This was our present life-style; so then, was it not our culture? Perhaps we needed to rephrase the question. Obviously, we were living our *culture*; it was our *heritage* we knew so little about.

One of the most severe problems the Native person is faced with today is that he is defined outside himself. That is, other cultures and other people have defined who he is supposed to be as well as what he was supposed to have been. He has been defined, categorized and mythologized by books, movies, missionaries, educators, anthropologists — and every other "—ologist". He has been set apart by legality and even by economic status. And within most of these existing categoriza-

tions of Indianness is a disturbing confusion between the past and present, or between heritage and culture.

Let me give you an example of how this confusion works and how it spreads. Recently, I had the task of speaking to a class of Grade 3 students in an Edmonton school. The teacher asked for what she called a "contemporary" Indian. She asked that the speaker emphasize the Indians of today.

When the children entered the classroom they brought with them a painted cardboard model resembling a totem pole which they placed beside me. Out of curiosity I asked them to tell me all they knew about the Indians of today. Without much hesitation they gave the following information: that Indians live in teepees, other Canadians live in houses; Indians use bows and arrows for hunting, others have guns; Indians use horses for transportation, others have cars; Indians use buffalo for food and clothing, others do not; and that Indians wear feathers.

I asked if they knew that these traits reflected the past more than the present. Some answered in the affirmative, but in the same breath asked me to do a rain dance! They also wanted me to show them how to make a totem pole and a canoe and how "to speak Indian".

It was incredibly difficult for these children to distinguish the present from the past. The teacher knew this and was struggling with the issue. She herself realized that Indians of today do not live as described by the children, if they ever did, but she said there was very little material available on the contemporary Native peoples.

I had rather die by the most severe tortures ever inflicted on this continent, than languish in one of your prisons for a single year. Great Spirit of the Universe! — and do you call yourselves Christians?

Joseph Brant

This I believe is a widespread phenomenon in our schools. Consequently, whenever we ask children what they think of Indians, or who they think Indians are, they invariably recall the Hollywood image of them. Even many Native children are similarly confused. (By permission of The Book Society of Canada.)

Integration on the Reserve

Integration with the rest of Canadian society does not necessarily mean leaving the reserve and working indefinitely in the white man's society. It could very well be just the reverse.

In an effort to improve their lot, a group of Indians on the Fort William Reserve took advantage of available government financial assistance and their own initiative and ability to improve their reserve. They have not only been financially successful but have demonstrated another form of integration.

Fort William Reserve

The tables are turned here in this northern reservation of 70 Indian families — they send their castoff clothes to the poor whites 10 kilometres away in downtown Thunder Bay.

The Indians are doing very well. They operate a million-dollar ski club, a bar, a trailer campground, a recreational lake, and plan a motel and golf course on their 5670 hectares. All with government money. And no taxes to pay.

Like other treaty Indians who live on reservations, they can get free houses, pay no real estate taxes or income taxes on reserve income, are exempt from Ontario sales tax on all purchases and get free medical care.

And these days, eager governments shovel in money with both

Housing on Indian Reserves by Number of Rooms per House



Source: Statistics Canada, *Perspective Canada* (Ottawa: 1974), p. 249.

hands. The 1973-74 budget for Ottawa's Indian Affairs department is \$323 million — or about \$1200 for each of Canada's 265 000 registered Indians. Then there's the Local Initiatives Program; Opportunities for Youth, winter works and unemployment insurance money pouring in.

The image of downtrodden Indians takes a beating here. Far from being oppressed, they may be Canada's new privileged class. The young generation discuss amortization plans and send their children to city schools.

But the old Indians on this reserve find it hard to change their ideas. They still worry about being bilked by the foxy white man.

For example, they blocked the ski lodge proposal for three years because the legal document setting up

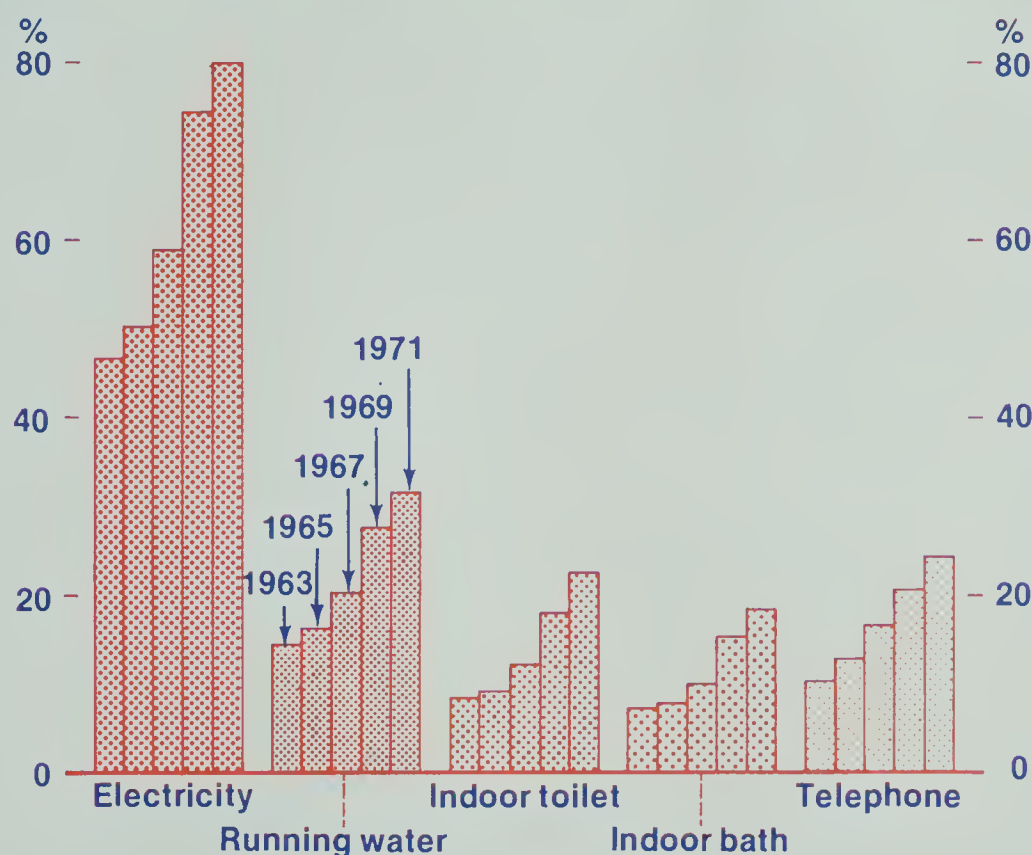
Ojibway Resorts Ltd. contained the hated word "surrender" of land — from themselves to themselves via a corporate structure.

After overcoming the suspicions of the band elders, the young Indians bought out a private ski club leasing their land in 1971, thanks to Ottawa and Queen's Park.

To cover the \$150 000 price and expansion costs, Ottawa provided a \$200 000 ARDA (Agricultural and Rural Development Administration) grant, Ontario kicked in with a \$165 000 grant through the Northern Ontario Development Corp., and the Indian Affairs department provided loans totalling \$300 000.

The club has 1700 seasonal members. "Even with the poor snow this winter, we'll make a profit," boasts Howard Bannon, area manager for Ojibway Resorts.

Housing on Indian Reserves with Specified Facilities



Source: Statistics Canada, *Perspective Canada* (Ottawa: 1974), p.249

Bannon said the band plans to use the easily obtainable government aid to develop Crescent Lake for tourism by building a campground with trucked-in sand for a beach, more trailer sites, a motel, riding stables, cross-country ski and snowmobile runs.

Plus, of course, a major expansion of the ski hills. Glen "Sancho" Bannon, a Confederation College student in business administration and second violinist in the local symphony, is seeking a loan to open a pro ski shop.

Glen Bannon is chairman of the band's economic development committee. Glen and Howard are not directly related. Practically all the band is surnamed either Bannon or Pelletier.

The band got \$7000 last year from summer tourists taking the

chair lift to the mountain top, \$12 294 from its toll-gate (\$1 per car) for the scenic drive to the top, and \$860 000 from the city of Thunder Bay for use of Loch Lomond water for 30 years.

While the reserve encompasses only a part of Loch Lomond, which provides Thunder Bay's water supply, the water pipeline traverses the reserve.

A smart local lawyer, brandishing old treaties and playing on guilt complexes, convinced city council they must pay. As part of the deal, the reserve homes get free piped city water, in perpetuity.

The band has applied for an \$80 000 grant to develop Crescent Lake and an Opportunities for Youth grant to hire a toll-gate guide. It received a \$50 000 grant to develop its maple sugar bush. The syrup

would be sold to tourists. All the unemployed who want to work — 30 — are on a winter works project, digging drainage ditches.

And, rare for a reserve, Fort William boasts a liquor lounge. "We voted wet in 1961 and it was the best thing that happened," said Howard Bannon. "It drove out the bootleggers."

Said Father Mara, a Jesuit who ministers to the 100 percent Roman Catholic reserve, "We have a bingo problem, rather than a drinking problem."

Most of the young men on the reserve work in the city. One-quarter, 117 of the 452 listed as reserve members, live in Thunder Bay.

They get a \$10 000 government grant to help buy an off-reserve home. For a home on the reserve they can get an \$8500 grant plus a low-interest loan to a total of \$25 000.

The band moved here in 1801 from Grand Portage, across the American border, got a 78 km² reserve under an 1849 treaty, and sold off the Kaministiquia riverfront section to the Canadian National Railways in 1905.

In those days, it meant banishment to wasteland — a swamp, 300-metre Mount McKay, two hilltop lakes, and a scenic Lake Superior bay. Then came the skiing-camping boom of recent years.

"They thought they were giving us the useless land," laughs Chief Leonard Pelletier, a young hockey player of local renown. "But as it turns out we're sitting on perhaps the most valuable real estate around here."

Now they boast their reserve has the best ski hill in Ontario, with nearly two-kilometre-long runs.

Running their own resort complex has given the Indians confidence through a "social level of acceptance," says Father Mara.

But the Fort William reserve plans to maintain one old tradition by giving the Queen a rousing welcome when she visits July 3.

They're going to have a giant wigwam-in of thousands of Indians, some of them from reserves where the government is flying in 11 000-kilogram prefab houses at 55 cents a kilogram.

Nine chiefs will present a beaded fur stole and a painting done by reserve artist Noel Ducharme to the Queen — provided the Ontario government gives them a \$40 000 "culture" grant to stage the 32-min affair.

(Reprinted by permission of the Toronto Star, April 3, 1973.)

The Difficulties of Integration

In this article, J. McClelland analyzes some of these difficulties and gives a wider perspective on the integration issue.

Before white men can hope to understand the Indian "problem", they will have to try to understand the Indian. And his philosophy of life is so much the reverse of ours, and in many ways so much superior, that it's extremely difficult for the white mind to grasp, let alone appreciate.

It's necessary to understand things like these:

Young Indians, taught from birth not to be aggressive, find adjustment to urban life agonizing. When they get on a crowded bus they will not push their way to the exit. They will remain on the bus until they can get off without shoving anyone, and then walk back one or two kilometres.

Occupational Groups, 1971

	Native People (percentage)
Managerial, administrative and related	1.5
Natural sciences, engineering and mathematics	1.1
Social sciences and related	1.3
Religion	0.1
Teaching and related	1.6
Medicine and related	2.2
Art, literature, performing arts and related	1.1
Clerical and related	6.9
Sales	2.7
Service	12.4
Farming, horticulture and animal husbandry	5.9
Fishing, hunting, trapping and related	2.6
Forestry and logging	6.2
Mining, quarrying, including oil and gas field	1.0
Processing	4.1
Machining	2.2
Production, fabrication, assembly and repair	4.4
Construction trades	9.8
Transport-equipment operation	3.6
Material handling and related	3.1
Other crafts and equipment operation	0.7
Not stated and not elsewhere classified	25.5
Total	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, *Perspective Canada: A Compendium of Social Statistics* (Ottawa: 1974), p. 275.

An old man was refused accommodation at a motel, clearly because he was Indian. He declined to notify the Ontario Human Rights Commission. He reacted to the rejection not as a reflection on himself at all, as a white man would.

In traditional Indian fashion he reasoned thus: "The refusal reflected on the motel keeper, poor man. He's the poorer for it. I hope some day he realizes it. But I won't take away his right to refuse me."

White men wonder why the Indian can't or won't assimilate with the

dominant society around him. They keep trying to make a brown-skinned white man out of him, which is trying to make him something he is not, cannot be, and will not be.

White men have been attempting this in their meddling, paternalistic way for 300 years, and it hasn't worked yet.

For the Indian from infancy is conditioned to communal living. He is taught not to be self-assertive, aggressive, competitive, or a meddler. He learns to disdain status and material possessions, to look on all the

A real conflict is going to erupt one of these days. We are going to do more than stay in our teepees saying "Ugh."
Delia Opekokew

parts of life as a whole of which he is a part.

He is, therefore, one with the universe which is an extension of himself and all life, and he does not endeavour to conquer and dominate his environment.

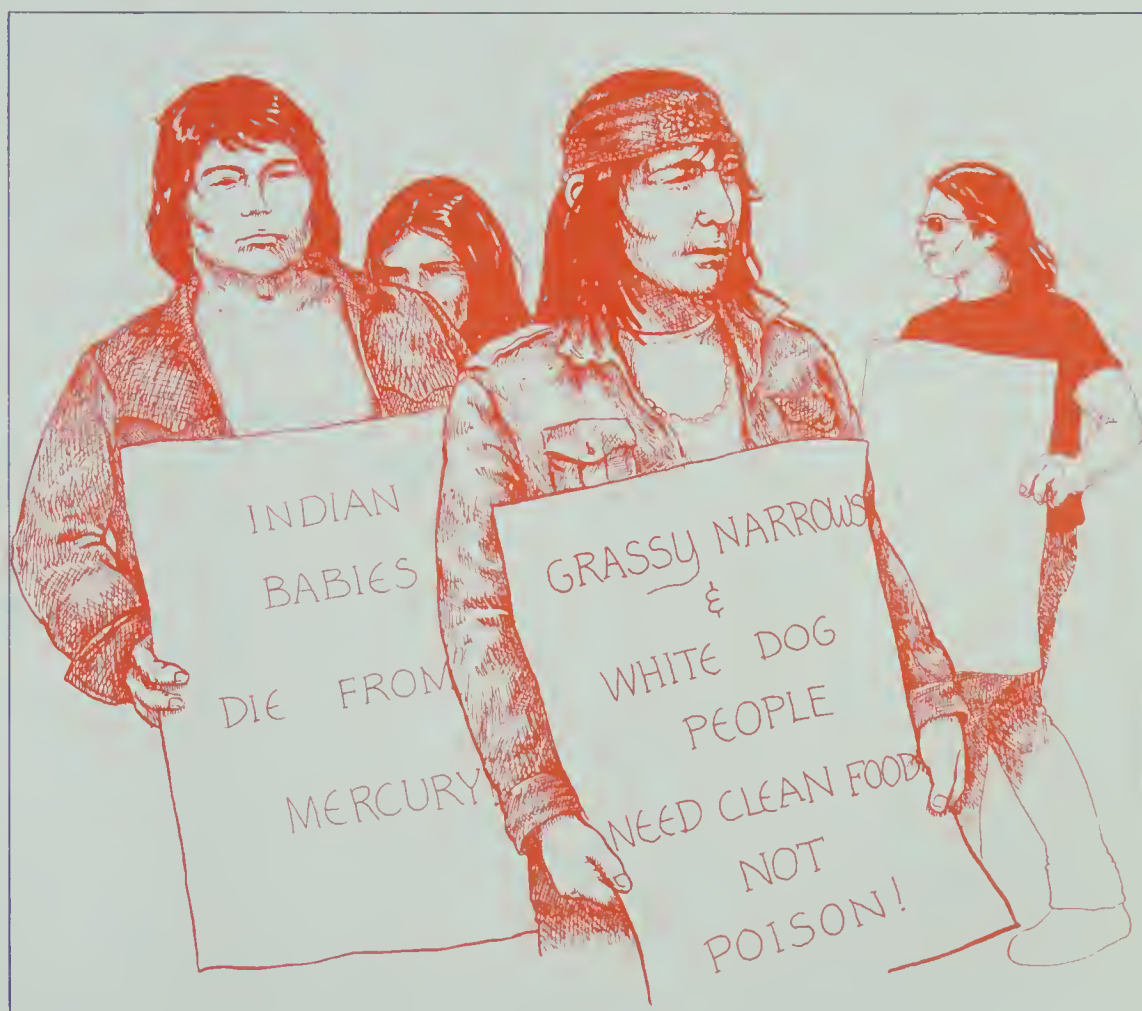
To seek status is repugnant to him. You can find any number of articulate Indian spokesmen today, but you don't find bosses. You don't even find leaders. No more than you find a leader in a school of fish.

Because of these basic characteristics, the Indians centuries ago perfected the permissive society. White efforts to implement this ideal, in which individual liberty is paramount, have failed because their conditioning from infancy won't adapt to it.

The sense of community is so highly developed in the Indian that he feels the communal or tribal unit as part of himself. He does not regard himself as his brother's keeper, which would mean meddling in the affairs of someone else. He instinctively identifies as a tribal being, and not as an individual apart, looking on or helping with or directing the affairs of others.

It is this sense of identity that is disrupted when Indians are exposed to the white man's way. The empathy breaks down. This is demonstrated most tragically and destructively in Indian children introduced into the white education system, alienated from parents and community.

The Indian is thus probably the most misunderstood and underestimated minority in North America, simply because he is so distinctly different, so unique. His timeless philosophy is significantly Christian-communist, and yet the Indian had



never heard of either when he devised his pattern of life ages ago.
(Reprinted by permission of the *Toronto Star*.)

The Turn To Militancy

Many native people, especially the young native leaders, are beginning to understand that the only way for them to escape the prison of alcoholism, suicide and poverty is to face these issues directly and to look for new ways to change the situation. These native people have begun to learn that their condition is a direct consequence of past compromises made with white society. They are now less willing to compromise. They have taken up the language and the techniques of dissent. The native people are now

being taken seriously as white society is reacting to their new militancy.

In the United States, the cities that received the greatest amount of federal aid for black communities are those in which the black militants of the sixties turned to riot and destruction. The squeaky wheel, it is said, gets the grease. Native people have begun to learn this lesson too. Future years will probably bring more and more dissent, occasional violence and a firm resolve among native Canadians that no one will accuse them of being unwilling to stand up for their rights again.

What kid wants to be told in school that his grandfather was a savage.

Buffy Sainte-Marie

Indian Occupation of Anicinabe Park

In the following article by Heather Robertson, "Shoot Out At Anicinabe Park: Another Skirmish in a Long War," the phrases "this is war," "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," and "the vocabulary of civil war," bring out the violent feelings of some of Canada's native people. As she points out, "No one was shot in the recent confrontations in Kenora and on Parliament Hill." But in light of the depth of feeling one cannot help but ask, "How long might it be before someone is shot?"

"I am an Indian and I have two more years to live. I will die violently, run over on the highway, frozen in a vacant lot, or beaten to death by my common-law husband. I have four children between the ages of one and 14; two of my children burned to death last year when my husband smashed a kerosene lamp on the wood stove. He was drinking. Now I live in a government house with my father; my sister and her five children live here too. I haven't seen my husband for a long time. He is away somewhere looking for work. I live on welfare which comes from Indian Affairs. I buy food from the store in town. It costs a lot. We eat mostly bannock and fish. They say the fish is poison. I would like to move away from the reserve but I have nowhere to go. I've only got grade six. I can read and write but I am not good for any job. My children go to a white school, but they are in special classes for dumb kids. It is because they are Indian."

I am not Indian but if I were my story would be much like that. I

would hate white people, people like me. I would hate them so much I'd be afraid to look in their eyes for fear they might see it and kill me. I would be so afraid that when someone like Louie Cameron threatens to shoot people, I would hate him for putting my life, and my children's lives, in danger. And I would envy his courage.

No one was shot in the recent confrontations in Kenora and on Parliament Hill but a lot of Indians were beaten up; one more skirmish has been fought in the undeclared war between the Indians and the government which has been going on in this country for 200 years. "Some people out there still believe this is just a picnic," said Ojibway Harvey Major when the Indians occupied Anicinabe park in Kenora, "but this is war."

Our first reaction is to scoff. Pooh, more rhetoric. We've had a belly full of Indian rhetoric. After a threat is made for the fifth, twelfth or fortieth time, the excitement wears off; boredom becomes contempt when we find out that each hollow boast brings more government money tinkling into the Indian organizations' pockets. American writer Tom Wolfe calls the technique 'mau-mauing'; it's no accident that the most successful mau-mauer, Harold Cardinal, runs one of the strongest Indian organizations in Canada.

Four years ago, when Cardinal was Louie Cameron's age, 25, he was considered to be the most militant Indian leader in Canada. But when the Ojibway Warriors' Society occupied Anicinabe park in July, Cardinal piously deplored their tactics; other Indian leaders followed suit knowing that a frightened gov-

ernment would buy the respectable Indians' silence with more money.

Cardinal has worked hard and made an impact: he destroyed the credibility of the sycophantic, illiterate old chiefs Indian Affairs used to move around like pawns; he stopped the government white paper which would have eliminated the pitifully few rights Indians now enjoy, and he has funneled more money into Indian hands. But Cardinal is a reserve Indian. Son of a chief, he is committed to the treaties and the reserve system. He is also a politician. He would look absurd toting a rifle. Canny, articulate, manipulative, his method is talk. In the five years Cardinal has been at it, Indian living conditions have deteriorated, violence and alcoholism have increased; the life expectancy for a man is 33 for an Indian woman 36. "We've talked too long," says Cameron. "Real people, our people, are dying."

The Ojibway Warriors' Society was organized three years ago to deal with the facts of Indian life. A study found that more than 200 Indians in the Kenora area had died through accidents, neglect, murder and suicide in the previous three-and-one-half years. Ninety percent of the Indians living in the Kenora area are unemployed; Kenora police lay 6000 charges of drunkenness a year. The fights, fornication and boozing that go on in the streets of Kenora are the Indians' own form of harassment, a kind of passive resistance which causes guilt, outrage and anger in the white community.

Cameron is the first Indian leader to perceive the truth about the Indians' situation; they suffer not from neglect but from persecution; the government is not their friend

but their enemy. He dismisses the treaties for what they are, articles of surrender, and rejects the reserve for what it is, a concentration camp where Indians were put to make room for white colonization. "We seek to abolish the Indian Affairs department, we seek to abolish the Indian Act," he said in July. "If life is to continue for Indian people, life must depend on free land." Cameron doesn't want the "Queen's bounty" — money, handouts, economic development, houses, plumbing — he wants freedom. He's not going to spend 50 years haggling over bits of paper; he wants to go back to the beginning, before the treaties, and start again.

Cameron breaks through the welfare mentality with his concept of an Indian *nation*, a community of Indian people which transcends national, tribal or reserve boundaries. An Indian belongs by birth; it doesn't matter where he lives, or how much money he makes, or whether she is married to a non-Indian. The foundation of the nation is a shared culture, tradition and religion. The Ojibway warriors reject liquor and practise the midwin religion of their ancestors, a mystical communion with the spirits which is still extremely powerful in many Indian communities. They carry rifles because most Indians around Kenora support their families by fishing and hunting; it is a badge of manhood, honour and survival. Death is familiar to them; they have little to lose.

Anicinabe park in Kenora was a symbolic gesture; it worked. The cabinet has agreed to discuss Indian grievances and to negotiate the return of the park to the Indians. Cameron is still prepared to talk. His words may be rhetoric, but the vocabulary is changing. "Political

power grows out of the barrel of a gun," an Indian said recently. It was George Manuel, president of the largest and most moderate Indian group, the National Indian Brotherhood. It is the vocabulary of civil war.

(Reprinted by permission of *Macleans* Magazine, December, 1974.)

Further Threats of Violence

Canadians were generally shocked when they saw in their newspapers that northern Indians were prepared to risk their lives to blow up any natural gas pipeline that crossed their land. To have Indians occupying parks and seizing government buildings was one thing but to have Indians threatening to blow up pipelines in this age of energy shortages was quite another. After reading one newspaper report of the threat, one can sense the depth of resistance and the passion of the threats involved.

Fort Good Hope, N.W.T.

Northern Indians will risk their lives to blow up any natural gas pipeline that crosses their land, an Indian chief pledged yesterday.

Chief Frank Tfelehye of the newly formed "Dene nation" told an inquiry into the project that native people would lose their heritage and their future in the wake of the proposed pipeline through traditional hunting and fishing grounds.

Mr. Justice Thomas Berger of the British Columbia Supreme Court is conducting an inquiry into the social, economic and environmental aspects of the proposed pipeline to carry natural gas from the Mackenzie Delta to southern markets.

Three Month Recess

Both Canadian Arctic Gas Pipeline Ltd. of Toronto and Foothills Pipe Lines Ltd. of Calgary, are proposing to build the pipeline.

Yesterday, after a three-month recess, he launched community hearings in Fort Good Hope so that Indians in isolated northern villages and fish camps can tell their story.

"All these people have told you one thing, Mr. Berger," Tfelehye said. "They have told you that they do not want a pipeline. My people are very strong and we're becoming even stronger.

"My people are finding new strength for the struggle that we are going through. There will be no pipeline because we have our own plans for our land. There will be no pipeline because we no longer intend to allow our land and our future to be taken away from us so that we are destroyed to make someone else rich.

Chiefs Agree

There will be no pipeline because we the Dene people will force your own nation to realize that you would lose too much if you even allowed these plans to proceed."

Tfelehye said he agreed with other chiefs in saying: "We love our land and our future enough to blow up the pipeline.

"We, the last free Indian nation, are willing to fight so that we may survive as a free nation."

The Indians say caribou already are scarce because Arctic Gas had been exploding up to 22 kilograms of dynamite at a time for seismic tests, cutting pathways 60 metres wide and more than 32 kilometres long through the forests for soil tests and by the setting up of drilling

Distinctive Canadian music died its death when the white man took the land from Eskimos and Indians and imported his own brand of music based on Greek theories, written down in Italian notation and duplicated on German-invented printing presses.

Udo Kasemets

equipment for tests on ground docking facilities would be built on.

The trapping season is over and natives have flocked to the village of 450 people to listen to the one man, who, as Tfelehye says, represents "the first time in the history of my people that an important person from your nation has come to listen and learn from us."

The message is everywhere.

"There must be no pipeline: land claims must be settled before development," say signs plastered around the village. Most of the natives are wearing smaller signs bearing the same message.

The new "Dene nation," representing Indian and Métis in the territories are claiming 1 165 500 km² of the western Arctic. Dene means "the people" in the language of the four major tribes in the Mackenzie district.

Tfelehye criticized representatives of both companies proposing to build the pipeline, especially Robert Blair, the president of Alberta Gas Trunk Line (Canada) Ltd., a member of the Foothills Pipe Lines consortium.

"Maybe money has become so important to you that you are losing your own humanity," Tfelehye said.

"I only know you are human beings and there must be times when you too think of your children, and your future. I cannot understand how a man can live for wealth and power knowing that his ambitions and greed is destroying so much around him.

"You are plotting to take over from me the very centre of my existence. You are stealing my soul. By scheming to torture my land, you are torturing me."

He said the territorial government's subsidy to standardize prices

throughout the territories is a plot to keep his people from realizing what is happening.

(Reprinted by permission of the *Toronto Star*, August 4, 1975.)

RCMP Sees Indians as Threat to Canadian Stability

As a result of the violence and threats of violence that have occurred periodically over the last few years, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police recently stated that Canada's Red Power movement was the "principal threat to national stability." This was revealed in the report on terrorism and violence in prisons prepared for the United Nations Conference on Crime Prevention.

It was emphasized that the movement was not considered a danger to national security. However, we can expect more incidents such as Kenora (Ontario), Parliament Hill and Cache Creek (British Columbia).

For a nation that prides itself on a general lack of violence compared to its southern neighbour, this report was rather disturbing.

What Is Your Position?

Our analysis in Chapter 2 gave us an understanding of the heritage and culture of some groups of native peoples. We developed some understanding of the depth and uniqueness of the Indian culture.

In this chapter we have focused on the issues of future government policy, the aspirations and demands of various Indian groups, the way some Indians are coping with the issues of integration and segregation, and finally a brief analysis of potential violent conflict as a result of Indian frustration.

The questions that you now must ask yourself are: What is my per-

sonal attitude towards Canada's native peoples? Have our past governments been fair to the Indians of this country? Which is the most acceptable government policy to pursue? Should it encourage integration or segregation? Can Canadian society as a whole benefit from a viable native culture?

What Will Quebec's Place be in Confederation?

As we saw in Chapter 4, from Confederation to today, Quebec premiers have always jealously protected their provincial rights. Between 1920 and 1960 the various provincial governments have tended to favour isolationism and to reject the federal government's offer of cooperation in social matters.

All of this changed dramatically with the Quiet Revolution. Quebec leaders since Lesage have been demanding that the original division of powers between the federal government and the provinces should be completely re-examined. Initially Quebec alone wanted a revision of the constitution. But gradually other provinces began to take a similar stand over natural resources.

At first, the rest of Canada reacted by asking, "What does Quebec want?" In the 1960s and 1970s there were several federal-provincial constitutional conferences to discuss these matters. In this chapter we will, however, only look at the alternatives for Quebec remaining in Confederation or opting out.



Bilingualism and Biculturalism

Largely as a result of Quebec's demands in the early stages of the Quiet Revolution, the federal government appointed a Royal Commission to investigate bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada. The commission saw that the situation was urgent for in their Preliminary Report they said:

The Commissioners have been driven to the conclusion that Canada, without being fully conscious of the fact, is passing through the greatest crisis in its history.

The source of the crisis lies in the Province of Quebec; that fact could be established without an extensive inquiry.

... But, although a provincial crisis at the outset, it has become a Canadian crisis, because of the size and strategic importance of Quebec, and because it has inevitably set off a series of chain reactions elsewhere.

What does the crisis spring from? Our inquiry is not far

enough advanced to enable us to establish exactly its underlying causes and its extent. All we can do is describe it as we see it now: it would appear from what is happening that the state of affairs established in 1867, and never since seriously challenged, is now for the first time being rejected by the French Canadians of Quebec.

Who is right and who is wrong? We do not even ask ourselves that question; we simply record the existence of a crisis which we believe to be very serious. If it should persist and gather momentum, it could destroy Canada. On the other hand, if it is overcome, it will have contributed to the rebirth of a richer and more dynamic Canada. But this will be possible only if we face the reality of the crisis and grapple with it in time.

The Commission published a four-volume report of its findings.

As a result of these recommendations, the government announced a policy of multiculturalism within a bicultural framework. Although it has been favourably received by many groups and people, it has not been enthusiastically welcomed by all.

Opposition to Bilingualism

Some of the opposition to bilingualism can be seen in the following excerpts from an article by Mark Alchuk, "Why I Support a Policy of English Unilingualism," which appeared in York University's student newspaper, *Excalibur*.

French Canada exists now as an inward looking linguistic minority in an English speaking sea. Bilingualism

will be the final brick in a wall to separate them from the reality of English language numerical superiority. Promoting bilingualism in English speaking provinces and creating French language pockets will increase that isolation. Bilingualism will be the coup de grace to Canadian national unity, the very thing it is supposed to be saving.

Canadian unity will always be threatened, for Quebec is not a province like the others. Quebec is a province of Canada in name only; Quebec is a nation as foreign and as distinct from English Canada as Japan is from Britain. The upsurge in FLQ terrorism is the first labour pain of the birth of a new nation; the separatist Parti Québécois is standing a day and night vigil by the bedside ready to deliver the new state. The French of Quebec are no longer French Canadians, they are Québécois.

Our only hope of deliverance from the civil anarchy which is rapidly descending upon our nation lies in the reassertion of a single Canadian nationalism. Canada can exist only as one nation with one official language. Our experience over more than one hundred years has shown us that two different peoples can never live successfully as one.

(Reprinted by permission of *Excalibur*, February 11, 1971.)

The Issue of Bilingualism in the Civil Service

If bilingualism is to work, it should first become an official policy of the federal civil service. It is difficult to have a policy of two official languages without having a bilingual federal civil service.

However, this policy has met with considerable opposition and bitterness.

Blood has been shed at last by rebels who now stand unmasked and fairly subject to the worst penalties of the laws they have insulted

Montreal Courier, 1837

Flexibility within Federalism

Many lawyers and political theorists argue that constitutional reform is not necessary to deal with the issue of bilingualism. They suggest that there is sufficient flexibility in the BNA Act for Quebec to have more influence without major constitutional amendments. It is often argued that by simply reversing the present arrangement and giving the residual powers to the provinces, a great deal of potential conflict and bitterness could be avoided. In the BNA Act, all residual powers, or power over anything not specifically stated in the Act, automatically comes under the federal government.

Repatriation of the Constitution

The argument that the existing system is flexible is not, however, a widely held view. As a result, a great deal of time has been given to federal-provincial conferences designed to find a formula for amending the constitution. At present, the ultimate authority for amending the constitution lies with the British Parliament. There have been many efforts to find a solution to this problem. The most recent was the Victoria Charter which seemed almost certain to be accepted until Bourassa withheld his support because he had certain reservations. Once Canadians themselves have settled the matter, the British will be only too pleased to relinquish their responsibility in this area.

Special Status for Quebec

Some Quebec politicians have argued that the powers of government should be decentralized so that Quebec could have greater control over areas affecting its cultural identity.

This was especially true during the Quiet Revolution and Robert Bourassa still holds this position. Some of the areas Quebec is particularly sensitive about and would like more control over are social welfare policies, communications and even foreign affairs. If Quebec were granted these powers it would mean a recognition of her special status in Confederation.

One of the earliest proponents of this was Daniel Johnson, the leader of the Union Nationale and premier from 1966 to 1968. In an address at a federal-provincial conference in 1966 Johnson used the term "nation" when referring to the province of Quebec.

We believe that there exists in Canada a French-language nation — in the sociological meaning of the term — with its centre in Quebec. This nation has the firm intention of pursuing its claim by utilizing, in order and justice, all necessary means to its development.

The Rejection of Special Status

Prime Minister Trudeau is opposed to giving Quebec a special status. In the following excerpts from his book, *Federalism and the French Canadians*, Trudeau makes his position emphatically clear.

Precisely because they are such a tiny minority in North America, French Canadians must refuse to be enclosed within Quebec. I am opposed to what is called "special status" for these two reasons, among others: first, I would not insult Quebecers by maintaining that their province needs preferential treatment in order to prosper within Confederation; and second, I

believe that in the long run this status can only tend to weaken values protected in this way against competition. Even more than technology, a culture makes progress through the exchange of ideas and through challenge. In our Canadian federal system, French-Canadian cultural values have a good balance of competition and protection from a fairly strong state.

(Reprinted by permission of Macmillan of Canada.)

René Levesque and Separatism

René Levesque and his Parti Québécois were discussed in Chapter 4. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, although the rest of Canada was concerned about the separatist movement, no one thought it was likely that Quebec would separate. However, the party's popular vote, over 30 percent, in the 1973 election meant that almost one in three Quebecois voted for the separatist party. If English Canadians in Quebec are excluded, at least one-third of French Canadians voted for separatism.

In the following excerpt from his book, *An Option for Quebec*, Levesque argues for a separate Quebec that would still work in cooperation with the rest of Canada.

We think it is possible for both parties to avoid this blind alley. We must have the calm courage to see that the problem can't be solved either by maintaining or somehow adapting the *status quo*. One is always somewhat scared at the thought of leaving a home in which one has lived for a long time. It becomes almost "consecrated," and all the more so in this case, because what we call "Confederation"

Occupational Groups, 1971

	French (percentage)
Managerial, administrative and related	3.7
Natural sciences, engineering and mathematics	1.8
Social sciences and related	0.9
Religion	0.4
Teaching and related	4.5
Medicine and related	3.6
Art, literature, performing arts and related	0.9
Clerical and related	14.7
Sales	8.7
Service	11.2
Farming, horticulture and animal husbandry	4.4
Fishing, hunting, trapping and related	0.2
Forestry and logging	1.3
Mining, quarrying, including oil and gas field	0.9
Processing	4.9
Machining	2.8
Production, fabrication, assembly and repair	8.2
Construction trades	6.9
Transport-equipment operation	4.5
Material handling and related	2.2
Other crafts and equipment operation	1.3
Not stated and not elsewhere classified	12.0
Total	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, *Perspective Canada: A Compendium of Social Statistics* (Ottawa: 1974), p. 275.

is one of the last remnants of those age-old safeguards of which modern times have robbed us. It is therefore quite normal that some people cling to it with a kind of desperation that arises far more from fear than from reasoned attachment. . . .

— and a New Canadian Union

And if this is the case, there is no reason why we, as future neighbours, should not voluntarily remain associates and partners in a common enterprise; which would conform to the second great trend of our times: the new economic groups, customs unions, common markets, etc. . . .

Reaction in English Canada

Many English Canadians have become sensitive and understanding towards the problems and concerns of French Canada. However, for other Canadians the French-Canadian position is intolerable. They ask bluntly, "Why don't they become English like the rest of us?" For others the separation of Quebec is an inevitable fact of life, regrettable but nevertheless realistic.

Walter Stewart is one who holds this position. In the following article he bids farewell to Quebec finally but without malice.

I have just returned from a 10-day swing through Quebec. It was the most relaxed — indeed, it was the only relaxed — such tour I have made in 15 years of travel into and through the province. For once, I didn't worry about my crude but serviceable French; for once, I read the accounts of current outrages — from murder to political corruption to the continuing language squabble — with something like detachment; for once, I didn't feel called upon to excuse and explain every aberration of French-Canadian behaviour to my wife, or to point out that exactly the same kinds of behaviour are common in English Canada. Not that my wife didn't understand this perfectly well, but I've always felt a compulsion to say aloud what we both know, that bigotry and rudeness know no boundaries. In those days it was as if I were responsible, somehow, for everything that happened while we were in Quebec. I spoke French, and Joan didn't; I said nice things about Parti Québécois leader René Levesque. Ergo, when someone honked at us for the crime of having an Ontario license, or made fun of my accent, I felt compelled to defend these idiots and to tell, for the eightieth time, the story of the two Montrealers who were instructed to "speak White" on a Toronto streetcar 20 years ago.

No more. This time, I made a pact with myself before we ever left Toronto that I would behave in Quebec as if we had landed in another country. I would speak my own language, except on those rare occasions when it was obvious that my French was better than someone else's English; I would stop trying to find excuses for Quebec's political inanities (after all, I don't feel re-

sponsible for Ontario's); I would stop trying to pretend that this province is just like the rest of Canada, only French. In short, I said farewell to Quebec as part of my own nation, and I found the experience marvelously relaxing.

One day, strolling on the terrace just below the Château Frontenac in Quebec City, I struck up a conversation with a militant student from Laval University. As always, we got onto the language question, and he told me that the time would come when the French would sweep the English back into the St. Lawrence, right below us, where they came from. Time was when I would have struggled painfully to indicate that I understood how he felt, but regretted our historic estrangement. This time, I told him in cheerful English to get stuffed. He looked blank, and we parted, each full of that sense of superiority that makes social congress worthwhile.

In a small store in Château Bois, I held a long conversation with a farmer who spoke a thick joul; he spoke French, and I English; I think we were discussing the crops, or perhaps skiing — something that goes up and down a lot, anyway — and we agreed that it's a shame the way things are. As we drove through Trois-Rivières, a young bearded patriot saluted us with a rude gesture; I saluted back, just as rudely. These liberated gestures were not my way of defying Quebec, they were my way of giving up; I am willing to accept that Quebec is now, or soon will be to all intents and purposes, a separate state, I am ready to make a separate peace.

I think I began my own personal peace negotiations about 11 years ago, outside the Citadel in Quebec City. It was during the Queen's visit



in 1964, when I watched police hammer some kids who had had the gall to shout "Vive le Québec, à bas Ottawa" as the royal procession rolled by. The cops were

demonstrating with their night-sticks that Quebeckers stood foursquare with the rest of Canada in loyalty to the Queen; the thought flickered through my mind that if this was the

way we were shoring up national unity, perhaps it wasn't worth it.

But I put such counter-productive thinking behind me until four years ago, when I received another abrupt check. I was having lunch with a French-Canadian friend and colleague in Montreal, and we got talking about the application of the War Measures Act during Quebec's October Crisis of 1970. We were both strongly against the act, but for different reasons; I saw it as an attack on civil liberties, Jean saw it as another put-down of the French. He said the federal government would never dare use the act elsewhere in Canada. I said the point was that it had been used elsewhere — against the Japanese Canadians in BC. Jean said that only proved it was a Wasp weapon; in any event, he said, the issue was not one that should concern me, because "This is not your place." I replied, "What . . . do you mean? This is my country." Jean shrugged.

Here is where my private peace with Quebec comes in; I accept that state's right to protect itself. There is nothing remarkable in Englishmen directing their immigrants into English schools, or Swedes refusing to set up a separate school system in German; and there would be nothing remarkable in a francophone state in North America promoting its own language exclusively. . . .

We really can't — as they say in Family Court — go on this way. After all, we have been struggling with this issue since 1759; we haven't resolved it. Our great triumph is that we have not yet torn each other limb from limb. There has to be something better to do than to go on pretending we are the world's model of tolerance, when

we spend most of our energy trying to put each other down. We are no more a single country than we were when the Act of Union tried to cement us together in 1841; the only difference is that keeping up the pretense costs more today; it's just as obviously futile. The Fathers of Confederation worked their way out of that earlier impasse by calling in the other provinces in 1867, in hopes of drowning the French in a wider union. It didn't take; we are back at the old stand; the only way out is to give Quebec the right, in fact if not in law, to go her own way.

This is not the same issue as the feistiness of, say, Alberta. The western province is pushing for more control over its own affairs for clearly defined economic reasons: give Alberta what it wants and you will have a purring partner to Confederation. For Quebec, the issue is not economics but survival; the economic and cultural questions are inseparable, so we have the familiar phenomenon that the more Quebec wins, the more it wants; it cannot be satisfied short of *de facto* independence.

That is why I made my separate peace with Quebec, and the benefits have been enormous, particularly on the crucial language issue. I lived in Montreal as a boy, but learned little French, except a few expletives useful for hurling at Jerome Choquette, now Quebec's Minister of Justice, then a neighbour on Wilson Avenue. In that simple world, it didn't matter much to be English in Quebec; the province was not important, our community was the English community of Canada. When I grew up, provincial governments had come into bloom and language was an issue for the

English as well as the French, for all of Canada as well as Quebec. It became my duty to learn French and to work in French in Quebec — a small price to pay for national unity.

It finally dawned on me that much of what I had heard about the goodwill that flows from bilingualism is just hot air; indeed, the only French Canadians who appeared to receive my halting efforts with politeness were the militant separatists. They regard bilingualism as anathema, another shove on the slippery slope to assimilation, so they are willing to speak English, if they can, or to respond to any mixture of hand signals, grunts and *franglais*. They didn't feel insulted when I murdered their language; they only got upset when anyone pretended, after three months of a federal government immersion course, to be bilingual and to pass as an acknowledged expert on the language question. . . .

My separate peace covers all this. History shows that when a people has decided that it is a people — a separate state — only force of arms can reverse the decision. Quebec has made such a declaration, to itself, and we are not about to take up arms. So we simply have to accommodate ourselves to what the separatist paper *Le Jour* calls "the legitimate aspirations of the people."

Frankly, I don't know how governments go about this, although I suspect we have to build some kind of buffer to protect our economy from such dizzy Quebec schemes as the Olympics, James Bay and Bourassa's two new superports (they would cost one billion dollars each, be built along the St. Lawrence and compete with Maritime ports), with their massive repercussions for us

The presence of people in Canada whose language and culture are distinctive by reason of their birth or ancestry represents an inestimable enrichment that Canadians cannot afford to lose.

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all. The phrase that leaps to the questing mind is "a francophone state in a Canadian common market." But that, as I say, is an issue for governments to work out in the fullness of time; for myself, I have declared peace on Quebec. I will go on speaking French, but I am damned if I'll go on feeling guilty about speaking it badly. It's not my language; it's not my country; I'm just a wayfaring stranger. And, as a tourist, I can report that Quebec is a marvelous place to visit, but I wouldn't want to live there.

(Reprinted by permission of *Maclean's* Magazine, June, 1975.)

Where Do You Stand?

Having examined the origins of French-Canadian culture, the conflicts of French-English relations, the French Canadians' efforts to preserve their heritage, and the issues of bilingualism, federalism and separatism you and I as Canadians must ask ourselves, "What is French Canada's role in Confederation going to be?"

All Canadians, whether English or French-speaking, are concerned that our culture might be absorbed into the American culture. Perhaps one reason why we have retained a separate culture is because there is a large French minority in Canadian society. However, without flexibility, this unique culture may well be lost.

Canada's Future Immigration Policies

Closely associated with the whole question of what kind of society Canada will be, is the question of immigration policy.

To try and find out what Canadians' views on immigration were the federal government released a series of documents known as the Green Paper (see Chapter 1). A Parliamentary Committee of MP's and Senators was set up to see what were the views of private citizens and interested associations. The Committee prepared a report that was tabled in the House of Commons on November 6, 1975.

To see what direction Canada's immigration policy might be taking in the future, we will examine some of the Committee's findings and the final report.

Reactions to the Green Paper

The parliamentary "caravan" that travelled across the country received a variety of responses to Canada's past and present immigration policy. Here are some of the presentations made at the public hearings.

Mrs. Joan Brown (Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People): Our brief suggests that a statement like that says, in effect, we cannot risk allowing too many people like you into this country. It also implicitly acknowledges the second class citi-

zenship which is accorded non-White minority groups and is accepted; which I think is the most insidious part of it.

We also question the timing of the Green Paper because it appears at a time when there are a number of problems that have to do with urban congestion and things which are the result not only of immigration but also of internal migration and they are not going to be solved, as we said in one of our recommendations, by stopping immigration, even if immigration is stopped altogether. So should not the Department of Immigration and the department concerned with planning the economy be involved with the problems raised in the Green Paper?

June 26, 1975

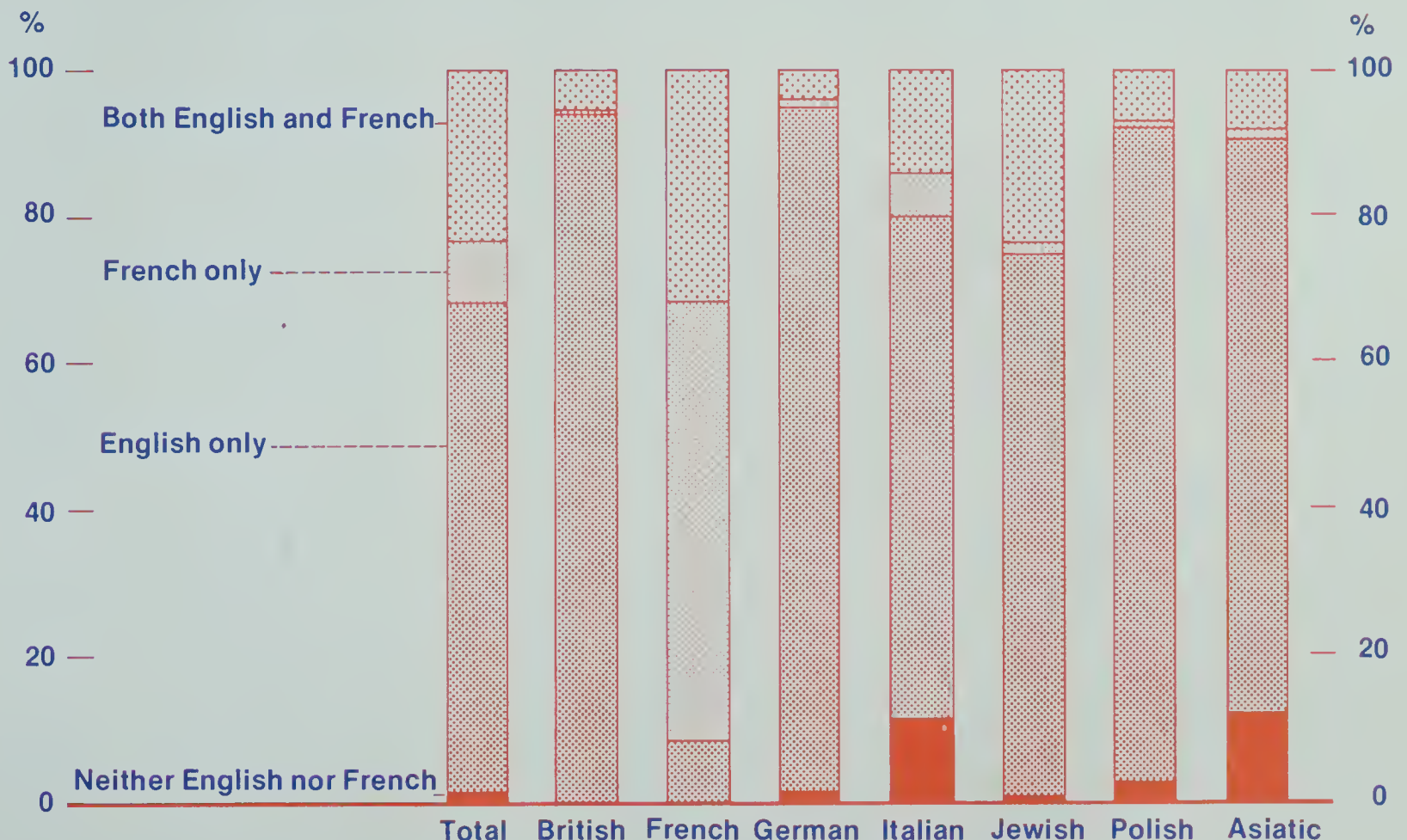
Mr. Mits Sumiya (Japanese Canadian Citizens' Association): Basically, gentlemen, our parents came to Canada, they settled here, not in the urban areas but in the more remote areas, logging camps, the railroad lines, et cetera, and in that way they aided in the opening up of the natural resources of Canada and thus made those products available for Canadians. In other words, they contributed directly to the economics in areas that were not necessarily urban. The current tendency, as I understand it and as I see it, is that immigrants tend to fall into urban areas and compete for jobs with the urban dweller. If the means can be provided — and I am not an economist, so I cannot really say how it should be done — it is possible, we believe, that people can be scattered to a greater degree and contribute to utilizing the resources of the country which are not currently being put into use.

For instance, I believe that there

The climate is infinitely more healthy than most of England. Indeed, it may be pronounced the most healthy country under the sun considering that whiskey can be procured for about one shilling sterling per gallon.

Dr. William "Tiger" Dunlop,
1832

Official Language of Specified Ethnic Groups, 1971



Source: Statistics Canada, *Perspective Canada: A Compendium of Social Statistics* (Ottawa: 1974), p. 228.

are many areas in Canada where mines can be developed, where even satellite cities can be developed, if people are prepared to get out there and work.

Mr. Robinson (M.P.): So you are really talking about the further development of Canadian resources for Canadians and for immigrants, and to encourage immigrants to go into areas where they can be developed?

Mr. Sumiya: Yes, I would even

encourage the giving of a subsidy, and training to make them suitable for this area, which may be somewhat different from living in a warm climate.

June 11, 1975

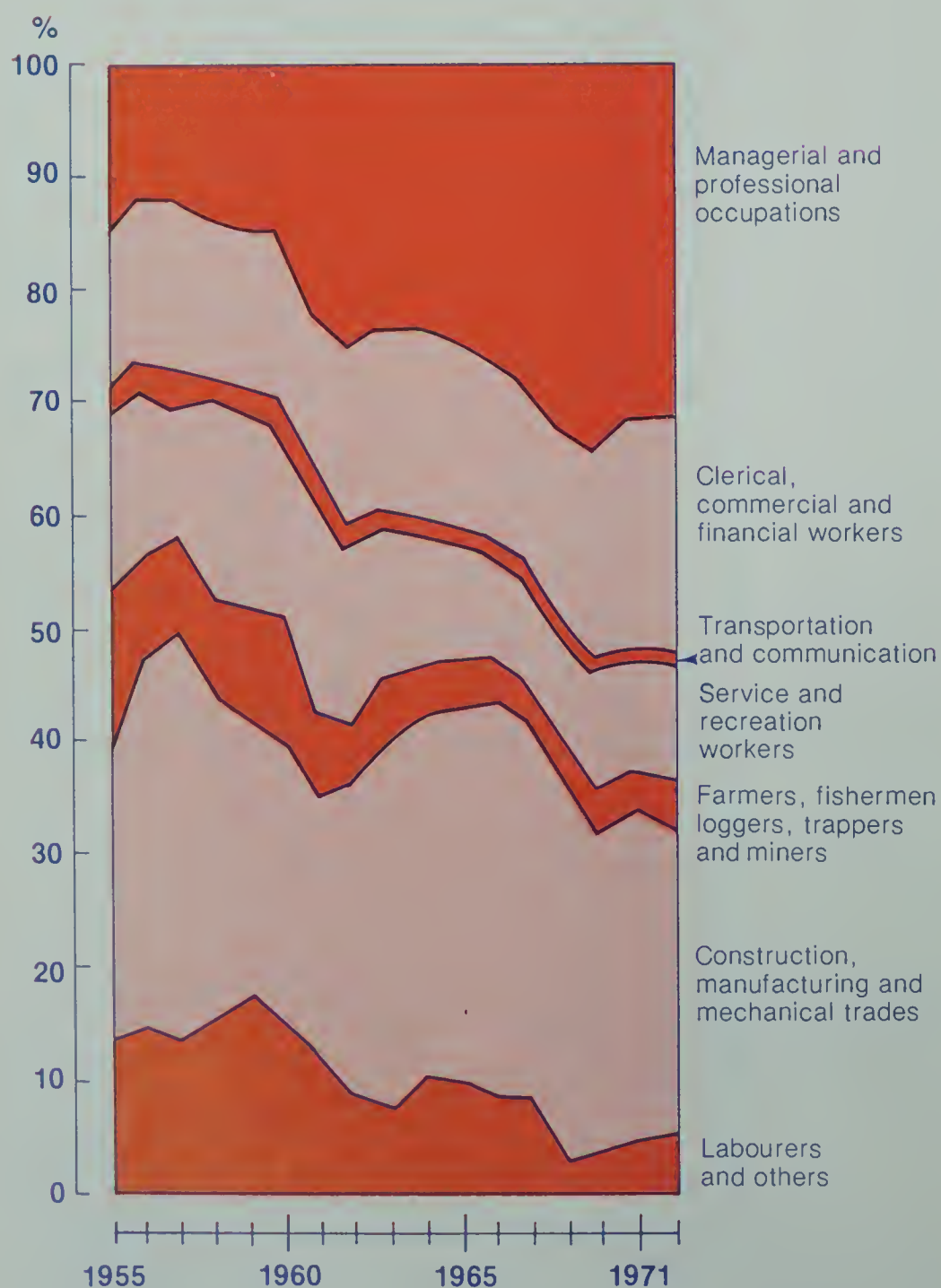
Dr. Singh Bolaria: (India-Canada Cultural Association, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan):

No. 1. The Green Paper promotes racism, both implicitly and explicitly. Racism is not a debatable issue for

us. We strongly denounce this document.

No. 2. The Green Paper is a deliberate attempt to shift the blame of economic and other crises on immigrants, particularly the immigrants from Asian and Caribbean countries. The argument that the housing shortage, unemployment, inflation and generally deteriorating living conditions in large urban centres is caused by immigrants is attractive but deceitful. It completely ignores an empirical and historical examina-

Percentage Composition of Immigrant Arrivals by Intended Occupations, Canada, 1955-1971



Source: Information Canada, *The Effect of Immigration on Population* (Ottawa: 1974), p. 23.

tion of the political economy of this country.

No. 3. With high unemployment and a general economic recession, this document is a deliberate attempt — and by "this document" I mean the Green Paper — to focus attention on immigrants and create hostile feelings between the new and old Canadians. It is an attempt to divide the Canadian people.

No. 4. Coinciding with the Green Paper, the racial attacks on non-white minorities have intensified in Toronto and Vancouver. These attacks are part of the racist campaign to further intimidate and create psychological fear among the national minorities. We actively oppose such a campaign.

We also express our solidarity with those groups who oppose the Green Paper and degenerate a campaign by the government and the mass media.

No. 5. We strongly deplore the racist attacks on our compatriots and other minorities and condemn the government for not taking appropriate steps to stop such attacks.

No. 6. The publication of the Green Paper is an attempt to divert the attention of the Canadians from the most important issues of today, inflation, unemployment and economic stagnation. We deplore these tactics being used through the Green Paper.

June 18, 1975

Mr. John Gilbert (Students' Administrative Council, University of Toronto):

Multiculturalism

On the matter of multiculturalism, let it be said that recognition of multiculturalism is not to be interpreted as recognition of acceptable variations in ethnic costumes,

Of course each of us possesses a distinctive national character and history. You won your independence by evolution, and the United States by revolution.

Dwight D. Eisenhower

Number of Workers, Non-Workers and Other Dependants Among Immigrant Arrivals, Canada, 1950-1971



^a Non-workers includes wives, children and other dependants.

Source: Manpower and Immigration, *The Effect of Immigration on Population* (Ottawa: 1974), Chart 2.5, p. 21.

food, dances, etc. It is the true multiplicity of cultural values which relate to such basic issues as family structure, child-raising patterns, care of the elderly, attitude to government, and culturally acceptable means of asking for assistance which maintain the dignity of the individual. It goes without saying that adjustment to this new kind of society poses a heavy burden on every individual, group and government level to create an atmosphere of tolerance, sensitivity and sharing. There is just as great a need for the community to be informed about immigrants as the other way around. . . .

The Role of Women

I just have one thing to say about women and the family. This is an area which is particularly tragic for immigrant women who are not working. While the immigrant male household head goes on adapting to Canadian society through exposure in his place of employment; and the children through attending school, the woman becomes increasingly alienated. Thus, for many immigrant women life in Canada means the loss of the traditional status and authority that they previously enjoyed and frequently leads to inter-family tension.

June 11, 1975

Mr. Paul Copeland (Law Union of Ontario):

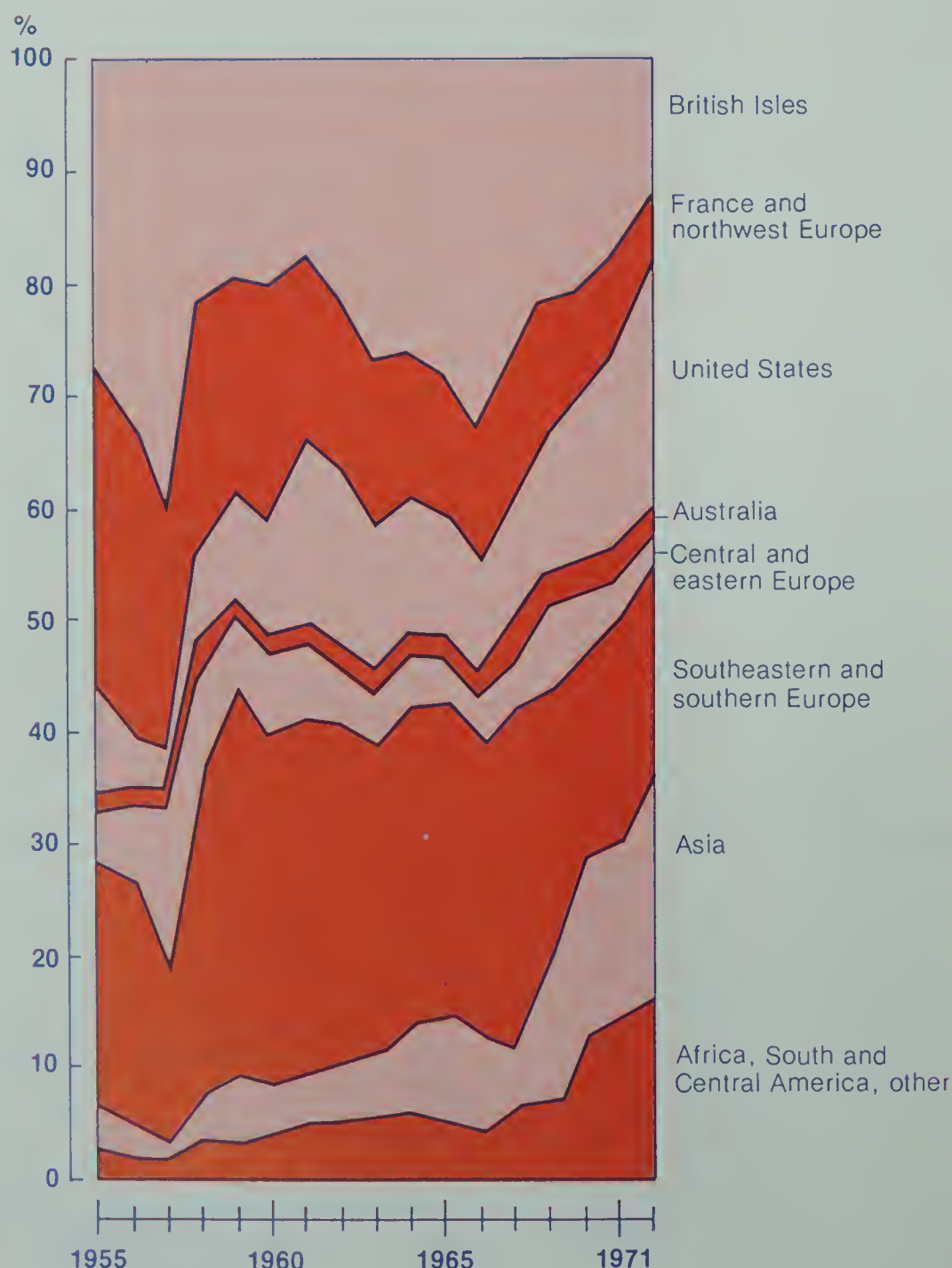
"Guest Workers"

Regarding guest workers, we think there are two possible reasons for the original implementation of the guest-worker status. The first might have been to try to control people working in Canada with no concern on the part of the government that a new exploited class was

Let it be the mad desire of others in Europe and America to lay waste populations; let it be our better ambition to populate waste places.

D'Arcy McGee

Percentage Composition of Immigrant Arrivals by Country of Last Permanent Residence, Canada, 1955-1971



Source: Information Canada, *The Effect of Immigration on Population* (Ottawa: 1974), p. 13.

created. The other possibility we see is that the government intended to create a new exploitable class.

We recommend the abolition of this category. The regulations created a special class of labour, extremely exploitable by management, tied to one job, with no rights in the country and no possibility of obtaining any rights to remain in the country. European experience of expulsion of guest workers at a time of economic hardship is most undesirable. If there are jobs available in Canada, I believe immigration should be geared to bring people in as landed immigrants to fill those jobs. We also would recommend that there be humanitarian exception to the abolition of the guest-worker concept.

Refugees

In regard to refugees, we recommend that there be a clarifying of procedures for determining who qualifies as refugees on an internal basis, so that the procedure will be uniform throughout the Department. The backlog dealing with these applications must be removed so they are dealt with quickly. Work permits should be available so the persons claiming refugee status can support themselves while they are being processed through the departmental procedure of the advisory committee and through the Immigration Appeal Board if necessary.

June 11, 1975

Report of the Special Joint Committee on Immigration

On November 6, 1975, the Special Joint Committee on Immigration Policy submitted its report to Parliament. The document provides a comprehensive review of govern-



ment and popular attitudes towards immigration. Some of the ideas and recommendations of the Committee are presented below. It is probable that the recommendations of this report will form the nucleus of future government policy.

Canada Needs Immigrants

11. The Committee is of the opinion that Canada should continue to be a country of immigration. In reaching this central conclusion Committee members were particularly impressed by demographic and economic arguments, as well as by the need to take account of family and humanitarian considerations for reasons specified elsewhere.

Prejudices Regarding Immigrants

20. A persistent theme of submissions hostile to immigration was the view that immigrants crowd into cities, exacerbating housing shortages, increasing the crime rate, bringing infectious diseases, taxing the welfare roles and government services, and causing unemployment by taking jobs from Canadians.

Committee Proceedings (Organizations and Individuals)						
Opinion Expressed According to Region of Residence						
Opinion Expressed	Atlantic Provinces	Québec	Ontario	Prairies, N.W.T.	British Columbia	Total
Stop all immigration, or all non-white immigration	1	1	5	5	9	21 (5%)
Exercise tight controls	6	3	6	7	24	46 (11%)
Gear immigration to economic and/or manpower needs	5	6	13	12	6	42 (10%)
Maintain the current policy	10	30	43	25	17	125 (31%)
Establish an open-door policy	10	8	15	16	9	58 (14%)
Legal concerns	—	2	3	2	2	8 (2%)
Special interest or problem	26	12	27	22	17	105 (26%)
Total	58 (14%)	62 (15%)	112 (28%)	89 (22%)	84 (21%)	405 (100%)

The Mayor of Vancouver made the specific point that "...immigration [to Vancouver] has exerted great pressure on land and therefore on housing prices... Immigrants have brought talent, money and culture, but they have not brought land... This is primarily a spatial question, not a racial question."

21. The Committee is convinced that even without immigration Canada's larger cities would face problems inherent in growth. Immigrants are only a tributary flowing into a much larger river of Canadians who have been migrating to the cities in ever increasing numbers throughout the century. This does not mean that the Committee is not sympathetic to the planning needs of cities. It simply feels that immigrants should not be blamed for problems that they have done little

to cause, although they may have compounded them. Canadians worried about the quality of life in our cities should look elsewhere than to sharply reduced immigration for a solution to the problems of city living.

Non-discrimination

35. The Committee received many submissions concerning the racial and ethnic composition of Canada's population and its rate of change. A number of these, from Canadians and immigrants alike, reflected anxiety about recent and fairly rapid increases in the immigration of non-whites, particularly to the larger cities. Some submissions advocated severe restrictions or a total embargo on immigrants from countries with coloured populations. The Committee also received evidence in tes-

Many of Canada's immigrants came from societies in which kinship ties were very important and where families were often linked into networks which would protect the young men of the families to a degree.

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Opinion Expressed

Submissions	Individual Brief or Letter	Organization Brief	Witness Before Committee	Total
Stop immigration	765 (64%)	6 (4%)	21 (7%)	792 (49%)
Tight controls	288 (24%)	31 (21%)	46 (16%)	365 (22%)
Gear to economic conditions	38 (3%)	19 (13%)	42 (14%)	99 (6%)
Maintain current policy	75 (7%)	58 (40%)	125 (43%)	258 (16%)
More open policy	24 (2%)	33 (22%)	58 (20%)	115 (7%)
Total	1190 (100%)	147 (100%)	292 (100%)	1629 (100%)

timony of intolerance towards non-whites in some Canadian communities.

36. The Committee sought to identify the sources of racial prejudice evident in these submissions, many of which advocated tight restrictions or a total embargo on non-white immigration. Some persons revealed that the customs and values of newcomers were disturbing to them; this anxiety tended to increase to the degree that the beliefs and lifestyles of immigrants vary from those found in traditional Canadian communities. Others showed an irrational aversion to colour and physical appearance different from their own.

* * *

39. There is a danger of creating second-class citizens of many foreign-born who have made their homes in Canada. It is evident that the ability of newcomers to adapt readily and successfully to Canadian life is in large part contingent on the

esteem in which they are held by their chosen communities, and on the existence of non-discriminatory treatment in employment, housing, and services. The Committee makes this assertion in the confident belief that the majority of the Canadian people are tolerant and generous and not prepared to condone racial hostility and discrimination.

40. Canada has become to a large extent a multi-cultural and multi-racial society. The Committee stresses that Canadians must anticipate that many future immigrants will be coming from non-European countries and many will be non-white. This trend is clear from recent statistics. As late as 1967 almost 80 percent of the immigration flow came from Europe, but by 1974 slightly less than 40 percent of immigrants were European-born. This decline in European immigration reflected in large part the improvement in the European standard of living which makes Canada less

attractive than it used to be. Significantly, in 1974, apart from the large-scale emigration from Britain caused by troubled economic conditions there, the highest number of immigrants came from the poorer countries of Europe: Portugal, followed by Italy, Greece, and Yugoslavia. These trends are unlikely to be reversed: Canadians must accept the facts that the country's capacity to attract European immigrants has diminished, and that if we desire immigrants, we must look to other parts of the world.

* * *

Managing Immigration Flows

45. A principle objective of the new policy should be the regulation of immigration flow to achieve desired population growth. The Committee suggests this could be accomplished by setting an annual target and by developing processes for determining and keeping close to that target. The main indicators used in setting the target should be (1) demographic, such as fertility rate, size, rate of change in size, and age of population, and rate of entry into and exit from the job market; and (2) economic, such as the level of economic activity and rates of employment and unemployment, which have a tendency to move in shorter cycles.

* * *

52. Introduction of this system of targets and ceilings would, in the Committee's opinion, have several advantages over the present system.

—It would reduce the erratic character of post-war immigration to Canada while leaving sufficient flexibility to adapt to changing economic conditions.



—It would provide the tools to manage immigration efficiently to serve Canada's priorities.

—It would help to ensure that the profoundly human problems of immigration control are handled fairly, and in accordance with criteria which are open to public scrutiny.

—It would assist in planning because the full number of independent immigrants approved for entry in any one year could all be expected to come forward.

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Dissenting Report

Not all members of the Committee agreed with the final submission. In a statement from five members, some of the proposals and recommendations were criticized. The following are excerpts from the dissenting report.

Statement of Some Members of the Joint Senate House of Commons Committee on Immigration

We accept many of the proposals and recommendations of the report but there are certain items with which we do not agree which are listed below:

1. We believe that the acceptance of the secrecy of the department's figures on occupational demand is totally unjustified. Occupational demand is an important factor in the point system which allows 0-15 points for occupational demand. The Department prepares a rating guide on this subject but refuses to disclose it to immigrants or to their advisors or to the public. We are strongly of the opinion that such secrecy is a violation of the right of immigrants to have a quasi-judicial hearing and in some cases an appeal. Furthermore we think it defeats the whole purpose of granting points for occupational demand when it denies to would-be immigrants and others knowledge of

where such demand exists. We are not in the least impressed by the suggestion that the granting of such information would enable such persons to misrepresent their qualifications. It is precisely the duty of immigration officers to see whether those who wish to enter Canada have the qualifications they claim. Failure to disclose the information is neither fair nor reasonable.

2. The majority report rejects the recommendation of the Immigration Appeal Board that all deportation orders should be appealable to the Immigration Appeal Board with leave of that Board. We entirely disagree. This recommendation was made by the Chairman and all the members of the Board who have had experience in this field which is lacking in many members of this committee. The Immigration Act for many years has provided for the right to a fair hearing and reasonable rights of appeal.

3. We do not believe that immigrants cause unemployment. However, it is correct to say that a high level of unemployment results in demands for the restriction of immigrants. It is for this reason we believe it central to the solution of "immigration problems" that we seek to build an economy with a high level of employment and a maximum of social justice. In other words we disagree with the majority report and the Green Paper when they suggest that immigration as such is a major problem. In our view other factors including unemployment are the main problems to which we should direct ourselves.

4. The majority recommends that the concept of domicile be eliminated from the Immigration Act. We do not accept this. The result of this recommendation would be that

The so-called "alien" American influences are not alien at all, they are just the natural forces that operate on a continental scale

Frank H. Underhill

those who have lived more than five years in Canada could be deported. We believe that in five years people acquire roots in Canada and lose their connections with their home countries. To deport them at this stage after they have lived here more than five years in Canada would be wrong.

5. We disagree with the committee's recommendation that foreign students should not be permitted to work during their recess as are Canadian students. Numerically, this is not a large problem but we think that once we have accepted foreign students, to deprive them of the opportunity of working as Canadian students do would be an injustice to them and would furthermore create the very resentments that student assistance is designed to remove.

6. We agree with many of the proposals in regard to changing the prohibited classes. However, we do not accept the proposal that those should be denied admission who in the opinion of special inquiry officers could become public charges nor do we think that those who become public charges should be deportable. Most frequently those who become public charges do so through no fault of their own but through causes such as depression or recession. We also believe that mental illness and epilepsy should be eliminated as a ground for prohibition unless those involved constitute a danger to others.

7. The committee recommends that the right to sponsor relatives should be extended in the case of Canadian citizens to all parents (at present limited to those who have reached the age of 60 years or are unemployable). We entirely approve

of this proposed change but see no reason why it should be limited to Canadian citizens. Sponsoring is based upon considerations of family unity which applies equally to all lawful residents of Canada.

M. Begin
F.A. Brewin
D. MacDonald
D. Orlikow
P. Stollery

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Where Do You Stand?

Having analyzed Canada's past immigration policies, future population trends, various views on immigration, and the Parliamentary Committee's findings, you must now ask yourself a number of questions:

1. Have our past immigration policies been fair?
2. Should we throw our doors open to anyone wishing to come to Canada?
3. If your answer is no, how do we determine who can come to Canada and who cannot?
4. How can we eliminate the kind of treatment that certain people have received on arriving in Canada in the past?

It is only after you answer these questions that you can decide what your position is on Canada's future immigration policies.

Americanization: What Does it Mean for Canada?

In this section we will pose the last and possibly the most difficult set of questions for the British members of the Canadian population. This does not mean that it is the British alone who are affected by the issue of Americanization. But other ethnic groups have particular problems to worry about. The British in Canada may be faced with one major dilemma: what makes an English-speaking Canadian different from an American?

In recent years people have been agonizing over the question, what is the Canadian identity? The native peoples seem to have less difficulty determining who they are. Their social condition reminds them of it every day. The French Canadians appear to have no difficulty at all. Their problem is not the discovery of their identity but the preservation of it. New immigrants to Canada have differed in their approach and Canadian society has differed in its reception. However, except for certain minorities, the greater proportion of new Canadians have assimilated into Canadian life. It is, then, the English-speaking Canadian who has the greatest difficulty in deciding what it is that distinguishes him or her from an American.

We have deliberately titled this section "Americanization: What Does it Mean for Canada?" for two reasons. First, it seems that Americanization is the greatest present danger to our ethnic identity.

Canadians are generally indistinguishable from Americans, and the surest way of telling the two apart is to make the observation to a Canadian.

Richard Starnes

Proportion of Ethnic Representation in the Economic Elite, 1951 and 1972

	Economic Elite		Canadian Population	
	1951	1972	1951	1972
British	92.3%	86.2%	47.9%	44.7%
French	6.7%	8.4%	30.8%	28.6%
Other	1.0%	5.4%	21.3%	26.7%

Adapted from Wallace Clement, *The Canadian Corporate Elite: An Analysis of Economic Power* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975) p. 232

Second, if the culture of English-speaking Canada becomes the same as that of America, then Canada will be destroyed as a cultural entity. True, Quebec may survive for a time but its fate would probably be a curiosity, a French-speaking ghetto in a North American society that outnumbered it by more than thirty to one.

Although statistics show that English-speaking Canadians dominate the economic structure of the country, there is still a very real threat of American business taking over more and more control in Canada.

Technology and Empire

The first fact that all Canadians must recognize is that we are, economically speaking, a satellite of the United States. There are, of course, possibilities for economic independence but it is not at all certain that Canadians will take advantage of such opportunities. For the present and the foreseeable future, we are, for good or ill, a branch-plant society.

The second fact that must be considered is that the United States is not simply a very powerful country with a long undefended border lying to the south of us. The United States is the most powerful nation on earth. It shelters vast multina-

tional corporations that influence almost every other nation in the world. It has interests throughout Asia, Africa, Europe and the Americas which it seems prepared to fight for and, in most cases, to win for itself and its allies. The United States, then, is the centre of a vast empire and its economic, political and cultural impact is felt throughout the world.

But more important even than this, is the importance of the United States as the centre of modern technology. The United States is itself dominated by a culture that is firmly based in several important factors. The most important of these is its commitment to technological progress. George Grant, a professor of religion at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario, is one of the most important Canadian thinkers alive today. He has written extensively on the relationship between Canada and the United States. He has also written on the relationship between both countries and the technology that dominates them. Let us consider some of his ideas.

The Philosophy of Progress

Grant argues that the United States exists at the height of Western civilization. It is, he believes, what we are all destined to become. "Like all civilizations," he points out, "the

West is based on a great religion — the religion of progress." We are totally committed to a belief that we are destined to improve our lives, that this improvement will result in greater efficiency and material comfort, and that this improvement can be achieved by applying human reason to the complex problems we face. Science and technology have become the instruments through which we understand the world; they are also the means to change it for our common betterment. This creed, which combines a belief in progress and human betterment through technology, is something that Grant identifies as the common bond holding all Western people together, whether they be Americans, Canadians, Germans or French.

George Grant, and others like him, are not at all pleased either with the "religion of progress" or with the behaviour of the United States as its chief prophet. Still, they are convinced that the power of the religion and of American society is so strong that it is almost irreversible. The principle reason for Grant's dismay is that he does not believe that progress is necessarily good. The people who support contemporary progressive ideas, he says, have led us into catastrophes that are only now beginning to be understood. They have led us into a society that is systematically destroying our environment; they have encouraged us to live in crowded cities where the quality of life leaves much to be desired; they have allowed the powerful nations to make war on small and helpless nations. The great corporate enterprises that dominate our economy and the vast nuclear arsenals that protect us are direct results of our technological society.

Canada is in the same position to the United States as Scotland is to England, and its final political union is no more improbable today than was that of England and Scotland, say, two hundred and fifty years ago.

Basil Stewart, 1908

However, to say that problems exist is not to say that there are solutions. Grant, after all, does not believe that true progress — progress towards a way of life that is decent for all and that encourages human excellence — is inevitable. Although he is concerned about the dangers in our society, he provides no simple answers. He has chosen to speak, as a philosopher of another age put it, “so that posterity may know we have not loosely through silence permitted things to pass away as in a dream.”

Lament for Our Nations

What things does Grant see passing away? What things does he lament? The first thing for us to consider is the Canadian culture. “In this era,” he says, “when the homogenizing power of technology is almost unlimited, I do regret the disappearance of indigenous traditions, including my own.” It is true, of course, that no particular culture, no single ethnic tradition has all the answers to questions about the way people should live their lives. However, “is it not also true that only through some particular roots, however partial, can human beings first grasp what is good?”

Grant certainly believes that this is so. The problem is that in a society in which regional, cultural and national differences are becoming less and less important, people's roots diminish. The final dilemma of modern society is that its most important centre, the United States, has no traditions dating back more than two hundred years. “The US,” Grant tells us, “is the only society which has no history (truly its own) from before the age of progress.” Although it can be exciting, if un-

settling, to live in or near the hub of a great empire, it is particularly difficult for Canada. As he puts it: “To have become so quickly the imperial centre of an increasingly . . . technological civilization would be bewildering for any human beings, but for North Americans particularly so. From our beginnings there has been an ambiguity for us as to who we are.” Other peoples, of course, provide mirrors for us to see ourselves. “To the Asians as they suffer from us, we must appear the latest wave of dominating Europeans who spread their ways around the world. . . .” And “to the Europeans also we appear as spawned by themselves: the children of some low-class servants who once dared to leave the household and now appear as powerful and dominating neighbours masquerading as gentry, whose threat can only be minimized by teaching them a little culture.”

But who are we really? As a nation are we just a junior partner in the American dream? If we are, are we disenchanted by that dream? Our admiration for the United States has diminished but the degree of American ownership of Canadian industries has not. What, then, are we to do? George Grant cannot tell us — or, if he can, he cannot tell us simply enough to satisfy our impatient demands for answers.

We have, as we have seen, a variety of backgrounds. We have a mosaic of cultures. But are these ties to traditions of the past enough to give us a unique identity in spite of the overwhelming presence of the United States? Is there any way for us to stand back a bit from the hustle of modern life — American style — and assess our past history

and future possibilities? Or is our national identity something that we can muse about while driving our American cars down super highways in search of an instant hamburger or mass-produced fried chicken?



Summary

Few nations have ever made it an official government policy to promote the growth and respect for the cultural heritages of all its citizens. Officially, Canada has laid the groundwork for the development of a more just, compassionate society. In reality, however, the concept of multicultural equality has been undermined by racism and discrimination in our society. Whatever the fate of Canadian multiculturalism may be, its future cannot be determined without a thoughtful re-examination of our immigration policies.

Canada's native peoples are also concerned about integration into Canadian society and about receiving a just share of its economic benefits without sacrificing their basic values and culture.

Many Quebecois, however, believe that their culture can only be maintained in North America if they separate completely from the rest of Canada. Nevertheless, a majority are still committed to finding ways to maintain their cultural integrity within Confederation.

Whether Quebec remains or not may also effect the impact the United States has on our future as a nation. Perhaps Canadians would be more determined to retain their independence if we really did become that very special kind of nation that we officially endorse — a nation of people living together in harmony and justice.

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